PSYCHANALYSIS IN THE CLASS ROOM

G. H. GREEN

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PSYCHANALYSIS IN THE CLASSROOM

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BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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INTRODUCTION

MR. GREEN has written a book which will reward with new insight every school teacher who may read it. He has in a very unusual degree the power of gaining the confidence of children and of inducing them to talk of those entirely private experiences which are aptly called their daydreams. He has gathered accounts of such daydreaming from many children; and in this book he presents a sample of this store, skilfully showing how great is their importance in the lives of very many children, and how the wise teacher who knows how to penetrate these privacies of the child's mind may gain an understanding of the child which could hardly be obtained in any other way and which enables him to correct at an early stage tendencies which might and too often do develop into morbid and hampering habits. It may be hoped that Mr. Green's book will serve in some measure as a corrective of the exaggerated "behaviourism" which is rampant in this country and which threatens to be a serious bar to progress. I question the propriety of the title which Mr. Green

has chosen for his book, not because he has omitted a letter from the well established word "psycho-analysis," but because his chapters, while making a wise and discriminating use of the gains brought to psychology by the practice of "psycho-analysis," do not imply the acceptance of the mass of vague and speculative theory which is commonly implied when the term psycho-analysis is used. Psycho-analysis is one method of psychological research among others equally important, though it is also a method of medical treatment; and the line of progress is that which Mr. Green has skilfully followed—namely, to make use of whatever sound contributions to psychological fact the psycho-analytic method may bring, while maintaining a cautious and critical reserve towards the wide-reaching but ill-digested speculations which are commonly adopted somewhat uncritically by the medical practitioners of this new art.

W. McDOUGALL.

HARVARD, June, 1921.

PREFACE

At the moment of writing, psychanalysis is probably the most discussed subject before the public. It goes without saying that a great part of what is said is extremely ill-informed, and that much that is included under the term would hardly be considered as psychanalysis by its founder or by any serious student of the subject.

A great deal of blame must rest with some of those who have written about psychanalysis. Public interest in views that were strange and new, and in results that were so striking, led to a supply that was commensurate with the demand. But here, as elsewhere, it is part of the duty of the student to discriminate between the serious contributor and the mere pandar.

Neither demand nor supply shows any signs of falling off just now, but there is in some quarters a great reaction against the new views. There is, naturally enough, the opposition of those who stand for the established tradition, and who take up the attitude of any vested interest against

a possible usurper. This attack is intelligible enough. But there is a further attack, which is wild and ignorant for the most part, is directed by prejudice, and must be regarded as irrational. Those who are tempted to take part in it should first read Freud a little, so that they may understand not only what they propose to attack, but themselves also. They will discover that all they can say or do has already been foreseen.

One part of this attack is the reiterated charge that psychanalysis concerns itself only with what is objectionable. The charge is, of course, untrue; but it is at the same time very illuminating. It is impossible that any subject which deals with the whole field of human behaviour can avoid touching at times material that is unpleasant. Further, psychanalysis developed in the first instance out of medical practice, and tended to emphasise what is now to be regarded as the purely pathological side of the subject. But the men and women who can read the works of the leaders of psychanalytic thought and find in them nothing but what is disgusting, are like their forbears, who could find nothing in human nature but what was depraved. Their views tell us little or nothing about psychanalysis or human nature, but they tell us clearly, beyond all possibility of error, that their authors are obsessed by a deep and overpowering interest in things that are disgusting and in depravity.

It seemed to me worth while to write a book that should present, as clearly and as simply as possible, such parts of the psychanalytic theory as were likely to be of use to parents and teachers, and to other people who were connected with and interested in children; and to use as illustrative material some of the facts that have come under my personal notice as a result of my contact with normal children. I have to thank my sister, and my friends and former colleagues, Mr. T. H. Jolliffe, Head Master of the Portsmouth Town Boys' School, and Mr. B. J. Sparks, B.A., B.Sc., for a great deal of assistance in the collection of the material; and also Professor W. McDougall, F.R.S., Dr. M. W. Keatinge, Reader in Education in the University of Oxford, and Dr. R. R. Marett, Reader in Social Anthropology in the University of Oxford, for the opportunities they gave me of discussing my material with them. It must be understood, however, that the grateful mention of the names of these gentlemen does not imply that they have endorsed, or will endorse, the statements I have made in the following chapters.

I cannot claim that the book is in any sense a complete statement of the whole psychanalytic position. I have intentionally limited its scope in view of the purpose I had in mind. The reader who is interested may extend his reading without limit. But I have tried to consider the

special needs of the teacher and the parent, and to be at once simple and comprehensive. To these ends I have sacrificed much; but not, I hope, accuracy and sincerity.

G. H. G.

LONDON, Easter, 1921.

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PSYCHANALYSIS IN THE CLASSROOM

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PSYCHANALYSIS is neither a science nor a theory. It is a method, a technique, that has been developed in connection with the treatment of "nervous" diseases. We owe its discovery to Professor Sigmund Freud.

The precise nature of this method will not be definitely spoken of in what follows, for the reason that teachers are not likely to be concerned at all with the actual analysis of pupils. This is a matter for specialists with experience, training and opportunities that are not likely to fall to the lot of the teacher occupied with his own professional duties and responsibilities.

It is hardly too much to say that psychanalysis grew up by chance. It was discovered to be a method which "worked," though the reasons why were by no means clear. But no method

can exist and be developed without a theory or a number of theories springing up at the same time, as attempts at explanation are made.

Theory develops out of practice. The theory makes possible advances in practice. The advances in practice broaden the theory. The broadened theory makes possible further developments of practice. And so on. Theory and practice develop together and in conjunction with one another. Practice that has not the sanction of a body of theory is likely to degenerate into mere mechanical rule-of-thumb routine. Theory that develops independently of practice is likely to become mere academic lumber.

Out of the practice of psychanalysis, then, has grown a body of theory to which the name "analytical psychology" has been applied, and which it seems probable will in the future be known by this name. The practice and the theory alike are to-day in a very flourishing state, as the flood of books dealing with both sufficiently testifies. Differences of opinion regarding both exist, and adherents of one view or another are grouping themselves into "schools."

In spite of differences, however, there exists a body of doctrine concerning which there is general agreement, and it is this which is of importance to those who, whilst not wishing to specialise in psychanalysis or analytic psychology, yet wish to acquaint themselves with a subject

which is certainly destined to play a great part in connection with the life of the future.

Psychanalysis, as has already been said, developed in connection with the treatment of nervous diseases. As the theory developed, however, it was soon seen that the implications of the method were concerned with much more than mental pathology.

Psychanalysis interpreted dreams, but it also threw light on the dreams of the great dreamers of the race—on literature and art. It explained those stories that are so peculiarly like dreams, fairy tales and allegories. It made clear the meaning of the many things we do daily of which we are unconscious, or of which we speak as "merely habits," carried out unintentionally and having no meaning. It was employed with interesting and illuminating results in the study of wit. It has served to explain points in anthropology, to clear up questions concerning primitive thought and conduct.

In brief, it was found that the theories developed out of psychanalytic practice were such as could not be ignored by those who were interested in human thought. They showed that the mind which expresses itself in the dream is always with us, however widely awake we may be, and is working in us and through us. Previous attempts to explain the working of the mind had concerned themselves with but a part—with a part which

analytic psychology declares to be a small part only.

The practical teacher has always had a certain distrust of psychology. It was not that he believed it to be wrong, so much as he felt it to be inadequate. He found that it helped him very little in the classroom.

The new teachings promise to make psychology adequate. The teacher who is able to make himself acquainted with them will discover that they help him to explain much in the mental life of children which previously puzzled him, and which appeared incapable of explanation. The older psychology confined its attention to a kind of mind which seemed to be strangely absent from the children of an ordinary class; which was, in fact, the mind of a highly cultured man as studied by a highly developed intelligence. It was a psychology of the university merely, and appeared to be completely detached from the life of the classroom.

Psychanalysis goes to prove that the materials from which psychology is to be learned are those which the classroom can supply in any desired quantity. The actions of children, the mistakes they make, their restlessness and fidgeting, the artless things they say, the "queer" things they write and draw, the wandering of their attention, their likes and dislikes—these are documents from which the teacher is to learn. We are all

familiar now with the pedagogic doctrines which insist that the teacher's business is to watch the children, and to refrain from interfering with them. Whether we agree or not, it is fairly clear that teachers in this country will be expected to do a great deal more. But it is quite obvious that the observation of children is an essential part of the teacher's task, if he is to understand the material with which he has to work. It is not sufficient to realise in a general way that each child is an individual problem, unless one is prepared at the same time to discover the precise nature of the individual problem in all its details, and to apply oneself to its satisfactory solution.

But analytical psychology goes farther. It enables the teacher to understand himself, and to realise that a great many of the difficulties that occur in his work are the result of tendencies in himself. To realise also, that a great many beliefs to which he clings, as well as a great many of his practices, have no sounder basis than these tendencies; and that the reasons he advances in support of both are not so much reasons as excuses. The understanding of himself and of his pupils by the teacher must in the end do much to alter the character of the struggle between both that goes on ceaselessly in the classroom; that results in wasted effort, discouragement, misunderstanding and inefficiency.

That there are directions in which our education

is inefficient, goes without saying: every teacher will admit it, since our education has no more thoughtful and severe critics than the teachers themselves. Nor has it any more devoted well-wishers.

Most of the waste in modern education probably results from the fact that our system fails to suit a great many pupils. It suits the bulk, and is so far satisfactory. But each pupil is an individual problem, and consequently many of our children are sufficiently far removed from a "mean" for the bulk of the teacher's efforts on their behalf to be unproductive of any good result.

The obvious remedy is out of the question on account of the cost—the "obvious remedy," that is, of a private tutor for every pupil who is so constituted that he cannot work in a class. But it is possible that some understanding of the pupil can be gained that will give the clue to the reason why he has failed to adapt himself to his fellows; more, that will make it possible for the teacher to assist the pupil in bringing about the necessary adaptation, with beneficial results for his happiness and success.

So much must be the excuse for adding another to the already formidable bulk of works dealing with the subject of psychanalysis. The average man has neither time to read nor money to buy the majority, nor has he the special knowledge which

an understanding of the best demands. But he is able to understand and appreciate the theories of analytical psychology, provided they are presented in a manner that is free from novel technical terms, and illustrated from material with which he is familiar. The average man has little acquaintance with lunatics or with insanity, but he has a great interest in himself, in other men and women, and in children, and this interest will be increased if he is able to look at them with heightened understanding.

The following pages, therefore, deal with examples that have been taken from children and adults who are normal, or who are so little removed from the normal that we are likely to meet them in the daily life of the home and of the school-room. The theory has been developed from these examples. It may seem, in some instances, that the deductions that have been drawn are more complete and more dogmatically stated than the material seems to warrant. This is due to considerations of space, since it would have been possible to produce many times as many cases as have actually been presented, and to quote a great deal of material tending to confirm the theoretical statements that have been made. But every reader, every teacher and parent more especially, will be able to supplement from his own experience the cases that have been given. And if he finds that the theory throws light on his work and makes

clear points that have puzzled him, so that it appears to him worth following up, he will find at the end of the book a bibliography that will serve as a guide to the more important books dealing with the subject, with the aid of which he will be able to study analytical psychology in all its bearings. He will discover, whether he reads of the interpretation of dreams, or of fairy tales, or of myths and legends, or of the more medical applications of psychanalysis, that, in the end, the implications of analytical psychology are all concerned with education—with the errors that have in the past been made in education and in life, of the individual and the race. And in precisely the same way that a great science of health has grown up as a direct result of the study of disease, so should a great science and practice of sound education develop as men in general become acquainted with the nature and results of the errors that have been made in education. And towards such a science and practice the contribution of teachers should be one by no means small.

CHAPTER II

THE DAYDREAM

DAYDREAMING is a phenomenon so universal and so generally recognised that we may very well begin with it in our attempts to investigate aspects of mental life that have hitherto been ignored, wholly or in part by pedagogical psychology.

Every adult finds, to a greater or less extent, that logical coherent thought demands a real effort. Children experience this even more. Consequently, a slight amount of concentration is followed by a tendency to "wander"; the mind following its own bent. The mind, we may say, if we wish to picture the process, has to be forced back to the line that we wish it to follow whenever we want to think logically.

The teacher, concerned very much with the problem presented by this tendency of the mind to wander, has given a great deal of study to the question of the ways in which he may arrest the attention of the child. Much school apparatus and many teaching methods have come into

existence as a result. For the general public, courses in concentration and mental training are at the moment widely advertised, all of which are designed to prevent this "mind-wandering" to which we have referred, or at least to reduce it to a minimum.

The associated problems of why the mind should wander, and the nature of its wanderings, have received less consideration.

At first sight, one would be inclined to attribute the refusal of the mind to continue a logical train of thought as due to fatigue. Fatigue should be followed by rest. But experience goes to show that the mind is not resting. In concentrated attention, our difficulty is not so much to compel the mind to be active, as to direct and control its activity. We must not, however, assert immediately that there is no fatigue, for personal experience goes to show that there is. It would seem as if the mind worked along lines of activity that were easier to follow than those along which we attempt to direct it.

The nature of this activity appears to be similar in all individuals. In the lapses between periods of concentration images present themselves to the mind, images which have the vividness of actual reality, arranged coherently. These make up what has been variously called the daydream, the reverie, the fantasy, or the "brown study."

In vividness and distinctness daydreams vary greatly with different individuals. Some people lose contact with the real world altogether, and return to life as if from a sleep. Others remain conscious of what is going on about them, and are able to act and to speak consciously and intelligently, living simultaneously in two worlds, as it were.

The occasions of daydreaming are similar in all individuals. Whenever continued attention is demanded, as in the course of a lecture or a sermon, the tendency to lapse into the daydream manifests itself. At first it is repressed, but unless the lecture or sermon be unusually interesting, it gains the day. There are few auditors who do not yield, for longer or shorter periods, to the tendency; lose contact with what is actually said, and abandon themselves to contemplation of the imaginary pictures which the mind presents to them.

If this be so in the case of the adult auditor, whom we may presume to be trained to habits of concentrated attention, much more so is it the case with children. How much of a teacher's time is wasted in giving lessons to which some members of his class, at least, are not attending? It is impossible to answer this question with quantitative precision, but an indication of the amount is afforded by the revision which is necessary, and which wastes so much of the time

of pupils and teachers alike; and by the way in which we are compelled to keep back apparently intelligent children in order that they may go once more over the ground that seemed to be covered efficiently in the previous year.

These considerations sufficiently warrant an attempt to understand the daydream completely, and to discover if possible from it something of the nature of the mind.

It is very difficult to obtain material for the study of daydreams. The majority of people are very reticent about them, and make evasive excuses of some sort or another when they are asked to narrate them. Frequently they say that they are unable to remember what their daydreams are like, or that these are so fragmentary that they cannot piece them together into any sort of connected narrative. Other people will say that their daydreams are "silly" or "ridiculous"; whilst others will say that their daydreams are so intimate and private a part of themselves that they do not feel that they can reveal them.

There is the further fact to be considered that a great many people prefer daydreaming to thought, and deliberately place themselves in surroundings and in circumstances which favour this form of mental activity. The real delight of idling in fields or on hill-tops, of twilight or darkness or dim lights, of the glow of the fire-

side, is that here we have circumstances where the appeal of the real world is less insistent, and in which we are the more easily able to abandon ourselves to reverie.

From these facts, therefore, which are extremely well known, we are able at once to draw the following conclusions:—

(1) For most people daydreaming is a pleasurable activity.

(2) The subject of the daydream is one which the higher qualities of the mind—leaving out of the question, for the moment, what these may happen to be—do not approve; but condemn as frivolous, or at least sufficiently alien from the character we wish to present to other people to warrant us in refraining from communicating our reveries.

The first of these characteristics brings us at once into contact with one of the fundamental conceptions of the newer psychological teachings. It is that our thought falls into one of two well-defined categories: we think either in connection with "pleasure," or with "reality." The implications of this conception are many, and we shall return to the subject again.

The second characteristic seems to imply that we have working within us a mind, or a department of the mind, whose activities are of a nature that we do not approve. We regard them as not in keeping with our character: we are in-

clined to mild disapprobation and concealment in respect of them.

Further characteristics are revealed by the study of actual daydreams.

The simplest are naturally those of very young children, but they present the difficulty that they occur before the child has acquired the art of expressing himself by means of speech, so that we are often compelled to gather from his actions the thoughts that prompt them.

Case I. A girl of three years of age called one morning from her cot to her father, "Dadda, there's a little girl in my bed." Her father replied, "If there is, you had better bring her down to breakfast with you." The child appeared in the breakfast-room, leading an imaginary girl by the hand.

At the table, she devoted all her attention to the imaginary guest, offering her bread and butter, egg and coffee. She neglected to eat at all herself. So, after a time, her father said, "I think that the little girl has made a capital breakfast. Send her away now." The child got down from her chair, led the imaginary child to the door, which she opened and by which she stood waving her hand while she said, "Good-bye, little girl. Come again soon." Then she returned to the table, to eat her own breakfast with a vigour that showed how much she had

restrained herself while attending to the guest.

In the street, this child was much interested in other "little girls." Frequently she would go to strange children and ask them their names.

One morning, after she had been for a walk with her aunt, she told her mother, "This morning Aunty took me in the tram. There was a nice little girl there. She asked me what my name was, and I told her. Then she asked me if I would like a chocolate, and when I said 'yes,' she gave me a lovely big one."

The whole story is quite untrue to fact.

More recently, when she was nearly four years old, she was staying in a house where the people were unable to give much time or attention to her. She was thrown entirely upon her own resources and her toys for amusement. It was noticed before long that she was talking as if another child were present. For the imaginary companion she chose the name "Glycerine."

Her uncle, to tease her, pretended to take a great deal of interest in Glycerine. He went through the motions of lifting a little girl to his knee, and began to talk to her. The child was astounded for a few moments, but said, "Glycerine can't be on your knee. She's over here. She's playing with me."

"So she is," said he. "Come here, Glycerine." Again he went through the movement of lifting a child to his knee. Then the girl said trium-

phantly, "She isn't on your knee at all. She's gone home."

The child was persuaded to talk about Glycerine, whom she described as a very amiable little girl, able and willing to play well, and interested in the things her creator was doing. But a little later, when an aunt, reproving the child for some fault, said, "I am sure that Glycerine never does naughty things like that," the child at once retorted angrily, "Oh yes, she does. She's a very naughty little girl."

Later, when the uncle and aunt had left the house, and the child remained with her grandmother and her toys, Glycerine once more came to play with her.

The daydream structure that is shown in this case is one that is simple and that easily lends itself to interpretation. The wish to have other "little girls" as playmates or companions and to know them, is shown in the daydream and in behaviour in the street. But the relation that is assumed is, in general, one of dominance on the part of the creator, and of subordination on the part of the imaginary companion. The child takes the initiative in inquiring the names of other children, and it is she who decides the actions of Glycerine and the imaginary guest at the breakfast-table; issuing orders and giving instructions. She wishes to have the imaginary

companion as her own completely, and a strong motive of jealousy impels her to send it away so soon as there is a question of its allegiance being divided, even though this deprives her of the pleasure of the company of a being specially created to give her this pleasure.

Here, then, we have revealed stong motives, which are of the nature of instinctive motives. It is doubtful if we can analyse motives farther than this, and at present psychologists seem inclined to regard the instinct as the fundamental element of behaviour. We have therefore, adopting McDougall's terminology, the *gregarious instinct*, manifesting itself in the wish to have companions; the *instinct of self-assertion*, shown in the wish to dominate the imaginary companion, and in the act of forcing acquaintance on strange children encountered by chance in the street; and the *instinct of possession*, or *acquisition*, displayed in the desire to have sole rights of ownership in the imaginary companion.

McDougall has conceived the instincts as innate tendencies to act and to feel in certain ways, transmitted through heredity and as constant for any given species of animals. If they are baffled or restrained, unpleasant emotion is experienced, which may range from a slight feeling of restlessness or discomfort to rage. When they are permitted to act smoothly, to continue uninterruptedly from inception to their final

end, the emotions are pleasurable. Further, McDougall believes that each instinct has its own peculiar kind of pleasurable emotion, which belongs to it and to no other.

The girl referred to under Case I. was an only child, and had few opportunities of companionship with children of her own age. She was surrounded by adults. In the presence of older people a child is at a marked disadvantage. Its physical powers are feebler, it is compelled to obey its elders and has no power to coerce them, it is not permitted to act as they do. It is conscious at most times of a very marked inferiority. But it has within it, as certainly as the adult, an instinct which would lead it to display and assert itself, and to experience the feeling of elation that follows the successful functioning of this instinct. No action of those about it can destroy the instinct. At most it is *repressed.*

But if in the real world the instinct is denied expression, it is possible to the child to construct an ideal world, a kingdom of the imagination, in which self-assertion is possible, and in connection with which elation may be experienced. In this conception we find a possible clue to the purpose of the daydream—it permits expression of instinctive motives which are repressed in the real world.

The occasion of the daydream would therefore

seem to be some deficiency of the environment. Ideal surroundings would be those in which every power was afforded opportunity for complete functioning. Few, if any, individuals are so environed. Some instincts are inevitably repressed, and it is to afford opportunities of gratification to these, even if it be a merely ideal gratification, that the daydream is generated.

It would seem, then, on the basis of the one daydream that we have so far examined in detail, as if the cause of the daydream were to be found in our instinctive motives, its occasion in the repression of some of these motives by the nature of our environment, and its purpose in the gratification of the motives that are repressed.

We may regard the daydream, in so far as it is concerned with the making good by the imagination of the deficiencies of the environment, as having a *compensatory* function. The nature of the compensation is, however, not so much to supply something that is missing, as to afford opportunities that are wanting. The point is important. In the case of the daydream under discussion, the compensation that is afforded by the daydream is not so much the result of the way in which it supplies "little girls," as of the way in which it provides opportunities for the exercise of repressed instinctive activities that cannot function in the absence of "little girls."

It is quite clear, moreover, that a great deal

of effort has gone to the construction of the fantasy that has been quoted. It may be true that it has not been felt as effort. It may be true that it has not been consciously realised as effort of the kind that goes, say, to the deliberate composition of a piece of original fiction. But the product must stand as evidence that effort has been expended in its creation. This effort must be regarded as a measure of the urgency of the instinctive motive that required satisfaction. So we are led to a conception of the daydream as a gauge of the intensity of desire.

It may very well be urged that we are erecting a very tall superstructure of theory on the basis of a single daydream. That would be true if we had no more than the single daydream to go upon. The majority of people will, however, be able to confirm every one of the conclusions enunciated above from daydreams of their own; and parents and teachers—every one, in fact, who comes into intimate contact with young children—will have met with instances similar to the daydream that has been quoted as an example.

Case II. A girl, aged four years, invented an imaginary companion named Annie Foxford. Immediately her breakfast was over, she would open the door to Annie, who came in and played all day with her creator. The fantasy persisted until the seventh year.

Case III. A girl of about three years of age, had two imaginary companions, who used to enter the house by the window. To one of these she gave the name of "Body." At times the child performed a number of amazing contortions, which Body was supposed to witness with pleasure.

These fantasies illustrate no new points beyond those already discovered in the study of Case I.

Case IV. F. S., a boy, has been from his earliest days greatly interested in railway trains. Till lately he has been interested in no other toys. He has asked for pictures of trains and has made endeavours to draw them. He asks adults to draw trains for him, and cries if the train is not satisfactory. When taken out for walks he invariably asks that he shall be taken somewhere near the railway.

He was once taken to Fratton Station. He would have remained on the platform for ever, watching trains coming and going. He has learned the names of a number of colours as a result of the attempt to distinguish between different engines, and the lights and colours of signals. He has also acquired an unusually good vocabulary as a consequence of the endeavour to understand the answers given to the many questions he asks.

He has no brother, and but one sister, much older than himself, and with little time or patience to play games with him. His father is a busy man, and his mother's time is rather fully occupied. As a result, he is often lonely.

Soon after he was three years of age, it was noticed that frequently he would leave his play with his toy trains and begin to walk in a peculiar manner in a small circle. At the same time he usually inserted a finger in his mouth, and muttered nonsense syllables, often with pronounced rhythm.

Soon after this he began to speak of a child called "Mary." Mary was a very vague and indefinite being, since at times he spoke of her as taller than his mother, and at other times as shorter than himself. The larger Mary was a person whom he asked to do things that he was unable to do for himself; the smaller a girl who played with him, and who was generally under his orders.

Within a few weeks the fantasy grew very definite. Mary was a girl, smaller than himself, who lived with her mother in a shop near Racken (Fratton?) Station. The walking to which reference has already been made was now spoken of as playing with Mary, and the muttering as talking to Mary.

He has lately frequently asked for things that his parents have had to refuse him: expensive

toys or books. His retort has been on such occasions, "Never mind. There's one in Mary's mother's shop."

He has compared Mary's mother with his own, to the disadvantage, as a rule, of the latter. Seeing his mother preparing food, he has asked, "What are you making?"

"A pudding," his mother has said.

"What is there in it?"

"Red currants."

"Mary's mother," he said very slowly and impressively, "made a very large pudding the other day."

"Larger than this?" asked his mother.

"Much larger," said he, and added, "there were *plums* in Mary's mother's pudding."

In the garden a similar scene occurred. His mother had been picking raspberries and filling a basin with them. F. S. was in the garden with her. After a while he said, "Mary's mother gets her raspberries in a bucket."

"Does she?" asked his mother; and held out two or three raspberries to him. He took them. Before he ate them he said, "Mary's mother always gives Mary the bucket."

On one occasion, when in disgrace for some fault, he burst into tears and went from the room. He reached the street door, which he opened, and went into the road. He was brought back at once. He explained later on that he was going

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to Mary's mother to live with her, because she was always kind.

It is difficult to know in this particular case how far the child is aware of the imaginary nature of the companions he has created. On one occasion I gave him money to buy chocolate at Mary's mother's shop, after he had assured me that chocolate was to be bought there. Without hesitation he walked along the street, passing the near-by confectioners' shops. It was not possible at the time to test him by allowing him to walk as far as he would, and by following him at a distance. He was brought back after he had gone a quarter of a mile or so, and the chocolate was bought for him at a shop in the neighbourhood.

At the time of writing this account, the fantasy still persists.

It is possible to discover in this more elaborate fantasy some of the elements already presented to us in simpler examples. The dancing in the presence of Mary, the domination of the imaginary companion in the games, appear both to be connected with the instinct of self-assertion or display. The desire for a companion is motivated by the gregarious instinct.

But there are also new features to be noted. Behind the imaginary companion there stands a remote and imaginary mother, who is contrasted

with his own mother, to the latter's disadvantage. This mother keeps a shop, filled with all the things he wishes for, and which his own mother is unable to procure for him. He has perceived, it would seem, the limitations of his own mother, and has created another mother, who is not limited, but who has all the characteristics of the mother he would wish to have.

Most of us have realised that as we have grown we have lost something of the sense of wonder with which all things were invested in our early days. Unless we have been fortunate enough to be so situated that new worlds of knowledge are continually opening before us, worlds of science, of literature or of art, we have become painfully aware that increasing familiarity with the things that surround us has resulted in something that approaches disillusionment. We have regretted or resented the change. Something of this is expressed in the way in which we invest our past childhood with a romance that it did not possess at the time that we were children; or the way in which we express half-serious wishes to have our childhood over again. It is this feeling that motivates our idealisations of childhood, and which underlies such lines as Wordsworth's:—

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,

And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, Who is our home:
Heaven lies about us in our infancy!"

and:—

"Thou little child, yet glorious in the might
Of heaven-born freedom on thy being's height,
Why with such earnest pains dost thou provoke
The years to bring the inevitable yoke,
Thus blindly with thy blessedness at strife?
Full soon thy soul shall have her earthly freight
And custom lie upon thee with a weight
Heavy as frost and deep almost as life!"

It will be necessary to return again to the question of the child's conception of his environment. It is sufficient for the moment to insist upon the causes that underlie the process of disillusionment to which we have referred. The child learns as he grows, and as his powers and his desires increase, that the persons who surround him are smaller and less powerful than he once thought them; and the process of restraining his activities by others makes them seem less kind. So great is the gap between the parents he now discovers and their appearance as he remembers it, that it is by no means uncommon for the child

of three years of age to assert *that the people who are now in charge of him are not his parents.* He imagines himself in the position of the heroine of the folk-story, whose parents were dead, and who was ill-treated by her step-parents. Children of this age sometimes say to their mothers, "You are not my mother."

The boy referred to in Case IV. has apparently reached such a stage. The contrast of his mother with Mary's mother has emphasised:—

(1) Mary's mother has the things which his own mother is unable to procure.

(2) All that Mary's mother does is on a larger scale than the things his own mother can do. (Cf. basin and bucket; currant and plum; pudding with very large pudding. His statement that "Mary's mother gives Mary the bucket," really implies, "You give me very little, whilst Mary's mother would give me everything.")

(3) Mary's mother is always kind.

It is clear, therefore, that Mary's mother embodies a number of wishes. The child still loves the mother of his earliest childhood: the mother who gave him everything, who seemed to do great things, and who was always kind to him. The fantasy shows therefore a failure to adapt himself to the facts of existence, and a tendency to hark back to a former, and now idealised period of life. Some part of the child,

it would seem, has not grown up, but remains anchored to a stage of life, the remainder having grown beyond it. We have the bodily, and in some respects the mental powers of a child of three years or more, bound up with the wishes, the instinctive motives, of a much younger child. This is an instance of what the psychanalysts term *fixation*. It is as if a stream were partially dammed near its source.

Will this ever be remedied? We shall return again to this point. But it is important to realise that we meet with infantile traits in boys at school, and even in the case of adult men of the world. It is by no means uncommon to discover that a man who is able to talk as an expert about a number of matters is able to do little more than become red in the face, to stutter and gesticulate when others are mentioned in his presence. We shall discover reasons for attributing conduct of this sort also to a fixation upon an infantile stage of existence.

It seems possible also to see in the conduct that has been described as walking in a circle and "talking to Mary" a symptom of this reversion to a fixed point of early childhood. Perhaps we are here on ground that is less sure, but the facts certainly lend themselves to this interpretation. In reality we have not one symptom, but three; which are:—

(1) The walking, or dancing, within a small area.

(2) The insertion of a finger or thumb in the mouth.

(3) The muttering of incoherent sounds.

The first and the third of these are, I think, to be regarded as repetitions of the first efforts to walk and to talk, which drew so much attention to himself from his parents. He is able to run about quite well now, and to talk plainly and intelligently, but these perfected efforts do not call forth the same surprise and pleased comment that were elicited by the infantile performances. In the attempt to attract attention to himself, he therefore reverts to the infantile stage of experience. We have here what psychanalysts call *regression.*

The sucking of fingers recalls the pleasure that was experienced in early days when he was fed by his mother; a pleasure that is of a twofold nature. There is first the gratification of the cravings of the instinct of hunger. Second, there is the gratification caused by gentle pressure on the particular kind of bodily tissue found in association with the lips, where mucous membrane passes into epithelium.

These symptoms may therefore be regarded as indicating the wish to regain the pleasure and approval of the parents and the devotion of the mother. They express wishes arising out of the instinct of self-assertion or display. The inter-

pretation here given is consistent with that given to the daydream.

The view of the daydream that has been suggested in the brief analyses here given has the merit that it makes of the daydream a document from which those who have to do with children may learn a great deal of the deeper motives of the child. When we have tested and measured and weighed the child, and have read into him the psychology that has been accumulated as a result of the introspective study of the adult intelligence, we feel that we are at a loss to understand many of the things that he does. Any evidence that we can get directly from the child himself is of value. We have here attempted to regard the daydream as a document emanating from the child himself, in which he states, in language that is not really difficult to interpret, exactly what it is that he wishes. We find in it a criticism of the people about him and of his surroundings. It is notoriously difficult to obtain from a child a critical opinion, since children are, as a rule, anxious to tell us what they think we should like them to say. If the daydream can be regarded as a document, it is all the more valuable, since the child, in narrating his fantasy to us, has not the least idea of what it means. The child whose daydreams have just been dealt with would certainly not criticise his mother, as we have discovered he is doing, if he were

asked by her or by a friendly adult for his opinion of her. The daydream is to be regarded as evidence, and as evidence that has not been tampered with.

The daydreams of adults naturally enough differ very considerably from those of children. It is important to inquire whether a gap separates them, so that we have to draw a hard-and-fast line between the methods we have applied to the understanding of the latter from those we are to apply to the former; or whether it is possible to show that there is a continuous process at work, in virtue of which the one becomes insensibly the other; or whether the difference is one of form only, due to the developed ability of the adult, so that the daydreams, apparently so different, are really the same, and in the daydream the adult remains a child.

The account which follows is given at great length, because it is of special interest, as showing the way in which a system of fantasy has consistently developed from the age of three to the present day, when the subject is fourteen years of age, a normal and very intelligent girl.

Case V. M. S. was an only child. Up to the age of about three she had no companions. She was taken to W——at Christmas, and while there met a family named Binks. The Binks children played with her and paid her considerable attention.

Soon after her return home she invented an imaginary companion, to whom she gave the name of Nelly Binks. The origin of the name of Nelly cannot be traced, since no member of the real Binks family had this name.

It was Nelly's function to be at the disposal of her creator in every way: to play with her the games she suggested, and to listen to recitations and speeches.

Before very long Nelly was replaced by a whole family, of which M. S. was the head. Later still the family became a nation, then a people—the distinction between "nation" and "people" is not very clear, though the latter was conceived as something much bigger and more important—and finally a world.

The members of this world were at first regarded as rather apart, it appears, from their creator, for Nelly Binks was looked upon as their queen. M. S., at some time, however, decided that she would herself be queen. She arranged a coronation ceremony in the garden. It was at a time of the year when the lawn was covered with clover. She made a crown of these flowers and crowned herself in the presence of her subjects.

The people had by now become so definite that a name was necessary for them. She decided to call them the Imaginary People. The origin of this name is to be found, I think, in the fact that her father was interested in mathematics,

and used to speak to his daughter of a great many things that were in advance of what children of her age generally learn; so that amongst other matters she had heard of imaginary numbers. The idea of numbers of this kind, that could not be represented as other numbers are, had captured her imagination.

The assemblies of the imaginary people were held indoors, with the single exception of the coronation ceremony. M. S. still recollects sitting up in bed, saying over the poetry that she had learned in school, while the crowd listened with admiration. So soon as she had learned the Decalogue, she recited it to her people, and it was unanimously adopted as the basis of the law of the community. Other laws and regulations have been added, the latest being a series of restrictions on the hours during which licensed premises may remain open.

M. S. finds a great deal of difficulty in expressing herself at all well. She is diffident. She accounts to some extent for this by recalling that she was once reproved by her mother for referring in school exercises to matters which are generally not spoken of outside the family in which they occur. She took the reproof to heart a great deal, saying that if she could not be allowed to say what was true, she would say nothing. The English work in the school she attends does not allow her a great deal of scope, being confined

to parsing, analysis, paraphrasis of, and comment on "classic" texts. Poetry has no beauty for her, since it is merely material for grammatical exercises.

She has always been a little gauche and awkward and is not good at games. As a result, she has always seemed somewhat out of the life of her class, though her form position has always been good, and she is one of the youngest girls in her form. She says that no one in her form appears to want her, and that all through her school life she has been left to herself very much. Her schoolfellows regard her as clever, but odd.

Since the coronation ceremony, spoken of above, she has continually worn white clover whenever she can get it. It was rather scarce in the garden last summer, and she spoke of buying seed with her pocket-money to renew the supply. Whether she carried out this plan, I do not know. She explains her fondness for white clover to all but the four or five people who are in her secret as due to a belief that the flower is lucky. In reality, she has no superstitions of the kind.

One girl alone, of all her schoolfellows, knows of the fantasy, and she only a small part. To her, M. S. occasionally writes notes, which she subscribes "Q. of I." (*i.e.* Queen of the Imaginary People).

I have known M. S. from birth, and have known of the stages in the growth of the fantasy. I am

certain that it has grown up independently of suggestion from outside sources. She has allowed her father and mother to know something of the matter, but much less than she has told me. They have refrained from interference of any sort whatsoever, neither checking it nor encouraging it.

She has lately felt the need of making the fantasy rational, as her experience of the world has increased. She is loth to abandon the day-dream, but she has had to face the fact that existence of the ordinary sort is out of the question for these people. She now regards them as existing in the Fourth Dimension.

M. S. has been exceptionally frank with me up to a point. She has refused to tell me anything of the nature of the proceedings of the assemblies as they take place at the present day. But I was able to come to fairly definite conclusions from things that she has allowed to let slip from time to time. I asked her casually one day if the people still worshipped her, and she replied, "Why, yes, I suppose so." Afterwards she was curious as to how I knew, since she could not recollect telling me anything about this phase.

The fantasy just narrated is of interest inasmuch as it reveals wishes which increase in intensity with increasing age. The desire for assertion and display which is at first satisfied with a single companion, later demands in turn the homage of a

family, a nation, a people and a world; appearing at last to require the adoration that belongs to a god. We are reminded of the folk-story of "The Fisherman and his Wife," in Grimm's collection. The clover is worn to remind her continually of her rank: she clings to it as tenaciously as some people to robes, insignia, medals and ribbons.

We meet here also with the conflict between the daydream and reality, a conflict of the greatest importance in the psychology of the individual. The child gains from her daydream a pleasure that makes it impossible for her to leave it. The hardships of reality are in part compensated for by the assurance that, however little her companions may esteem her, she is in reality a queen, acknowledged as such by millions of subjects. At night, when her lessons are finished, she may retire to her room and lie awake in the darkness, expressing herself in the way she wishes to do, and receiving the adulation for which she craves. At school, nobody pays marked attention to her; in her kingdom of fantasy every one is subservient to her. Following out a suggestion made by Professor McDougall, I asked M. S. what she would do to a disobedient or rebellious subject. She was astonished at the question, but told me that, not only had no subject ever rebelled or disobeyed her, but that she was quite unable to imagine any one ever doing so.

Her instinctive wishes, therefore, demand the continuance of the daydream. Her growing intelligence tends to assure her of its impossibility, and urges her to abandon it. This is the conflict, then, between that side of her which craves for "pleasure" and that side of her which appreciates "reality." The result, in this particular instance, is that her intelligence is forced to act under the compulsion of her instinctive wishes, and to *fabricate a reason why the daydream shall be allowed to persist.* It does so, assuring her that the daydream is entirely reasonable in view of her beliefs in respect of the fourth dimension. This "making reasonable" of something that is opposed to reality is the process that is termed *rationalisation* by the psychanalysis.

There are really three possible ways out of the difficulty, which may be tabulated as follows:—

(1) The adoption of "reality," and the abandonment of the fantasy.

(2) The "rationalisation" of the fantasy.

(3) The adoption of the fantasy, and the abandonment of "reality."

The last is madness, insanity. Many of the patients in the wards of asylums are people who pass the whole of their existence, believing in the truth of a daydream, and in the conviction that the "reality" of their fellows is a delusion.

The first is an ideal sanity, one which probably very few people achieve. But it is part of the function of education to lead the child from fantasy, where the principle of subjective and egoistic pleasure predominates, to "reality," so far as this has been attained by the culture of his time. To lead, be it noted; for it would seem that coercion is not only dangerous, but that it is not even successful.

The majority of men resort, in less or greater degree, to "rationalisation." The extreme case is where the insane man, who believes himself to be an Emperor, explains the indifference with which other people regard him as due to a world-wide conspiracy engineered by the usurper who now occupies the throne that should rightly be his. On a different level, though perhaps not very different in kind, is the rationalisation of the man who excuses excessive smoking on the ground that it "soothes his nerves," or drinking on the ground that alcoholic beverages are "nourishing."

Case VI. J. is a girl of fourteen years of age. She tells me that her persistent daydream has been to imagine, for as many years back as she can remember, that she is a nurse.

Her aunt is a nurse. J. is, however, certain that she has never wished to be like her aunt, whose work is concerned entirely with adults.

She has never had any ambition, even during the days of the war, to be an army nurse. Her desire is to be a children's nurse.

She imagines a very clean ward, with a number of very nice, clean children, all arranged exactly as she would have it. The children would be very obedient, and everything about them would be "just so."

She is very fond of arranging and rearranging the furniture of her bedroom, where her belongings are kept. Here, again, she is anxious that everything should be "just so."

J. says that the lessons in school do not interest her. An exception was a lesson in which she was told something of the origins of the planets and of the sun and the earth. She explains this by saying that the origins and beginnings of things interest her a great deal. She will often linger about the early parts of a book deciding how she would arrange the development and end of the story. She hurries the later part, to see if the author's treatment agrees with what she thinks it should be. If not, she is disappointed, and derives little pleasure from the book. She is not interested in mysteries as such; though it pleases her to discover that the solution agrees with her own.

This fantasy again shows strong instinctive wishes for self-assertion, for as such we must

interpret the desire to govern the lives of children and of the characters in works of fiction. The same wishes are to be discovered in the changing of the places of the articles of furniture of the bedroom. The assertion of the self is made through domination, rather than by means of the display of extravagant feats. The wish to govern and control is no less shown in the day-dreams of a child who fantasies herself as a nurse, and defines a nurse's functions in this particular manner, than in the reveries of a child who imagines herself a queen.

It would be easy to quote at length some hundreds of daydreams, collected from children attending the higher standards of elementary schools, or from pupils in secondary schools. But no useful purpose would be served. These fantasies differ in material details, but the majority are concerned with the theme of successful display by the dreamer before an applauding audience. For convenience they may be grouped in the following categories:—

(1) The Fantasy of Display. The dreamer, in some capacity which is usually at variance with the facts of real life, performs a feat which wins applause for him.

(2) The Saving Fantasy. The dreamer performs some act, of which he is in reality incapable, by which he saves life, gaining at once the devo-

tion of the rescued person (usually of the opposite sex), the gratitude of her parents, and the applause of bystanders. It is noteworthy that a great many boys who indulge in saving fantasies specify that the person saved is of higher social standing than her rescuer, though this fact makes no difference to her attitude towards him. Further, a number of daydreams with "display" characteristics, such as shooting the winning goals for a football team, may be regarded as "saving fantasies," inasmuch as a great deal of stress is laid on the fact that these goals "saved the side."

(3) The Fantasy of Grandeur. The dreamer occupies an exalted rôle in the daydream, generally that of a royal person or a deity. A fairy queen, the chief of a band of robbers, "somebody known all over the world," the champion boxer of the world, etc., are examples taken from the daydreams of school children.

(4) The Fantasy of Homage. Here the dreamer by doing a service to some admired person, usually a superior, gains the love of the person in question. Sometimes the person is of the opposite sex to the dreamer, but more often, apparently, in school children, of the same sex. It is particularly common, as might be expected, in girls who are given to "raves" over women teachers.

The simple fantasy of the imaginary companion,

with which this study was at first concerned, has disappeared when the child is at school. It expressed, as we have seen, the cravings of a baffled Instinct of Gregariousness, and serves well to illustrate the comments of McDougall on this instinct: "Its operation in its simplest form implies none of the higher qualities of mind, neither sympathy nor capacity for mutual aid." The instinct is apparently gratified when the child goes to school, and real companions make imaginary ones unnecessary.

The fantasies enumerated above express a wish for admiration, for elation, the emotion which McDougall regards as appropriate to the Instinct of Self-Assertion. It is important to notice that though the end of the assertion is the same, the mode of assertion that is conceived as best adapted to attain the end differs. We have evidence in the daydream of an attitude towards the world.

The fantasy of homage reveals an attitude essentially different from that which is to be found in the fantasy of display or of grandeur. The one gains its end by subservience, by homage, by insinuating conduct; the other by means of a forcing upon the attention of onlookers. Adler regards these attitudes as "protests" against the real life, and names them respectively the "feminine" and "masculine" protests: unfortunate terms, since the "masculine" protest

is by no means characteristic of males, nor the "feminine" protest of females. He conceives the attitude which the protest expresses as having been formed as a result of perceived inferiority in childhood; and believes that a process of judgment has decided for the child what place he occupies in his environment, and the mode he is to adopt in order to attain to his wishes. It is certain that children fall sharply into the categories of "naughty" or "good," "noisy" or "quiet," "disobedient" or "obedient," "thoughtful" or "thoughtless"; and that they exhibit these characteristics from very early years. Further, that these attitudes persist through life.

It cannot be insisted too strongly, however, that all fantasies are egoistic in character. There is displayed in them a complete absence of any lofty moral purpose, even though the modes of action they depict may appear blameless. The central figure is invariably the dreamer, and the end that is striven for is invariably a personal and selfish end. I have omitted, for the present, abnormal daydreams of an apparently unpleasant character; but hope to show later that these are not to be regarded as exceptions. The feeling that is experienced is a happy or pleasant one: children say their daydreams "make me very happy," "make me feel pleased with myself," or "are much more pleasant than real life."

The Fantasy of Homage is no exception. One girl of fourteen, who narrated for me a long and detailed daydream of this sort, stated that her wish was that her heroine should love her very much, wish to be with her and desirous of doing things for her. I find that the other dreamers of this sort of daydream say much the same; less explicitly, perhaps, but no less unmistakably.

The egoistic desire manifested in the daydreams is the desire of showing to advantage, generally through beating or controlling another. At bottom, the fantasy is in general not far removed from a daydream of domination.

The desire of domination expresses itself in two differing ways, which are not quite the same as the "protests" that have been referred to, though the categories to some extent overlap. It is not suggested that any of the categories mentioned present a final analysis of the matter, but they are useful, inasmuch as they permit differing angles of approach, and allow the teacher to view his children in a number of ways. It is extraordinarily difficult to discover means of appraising satisfactorily the characters of children. Single labels never permit the shades of difference that we are able to feel.

How, then, does the child—or the adult, for that matter—set about the task of securing domination of the people in his environment and of his circumstances? Here, as in war,

there are two methods: one that of the direct frontal attack, the other that of the strategic attack.

The strategist uses thought as a mode. He sits in solitude and plans. He fears to act directly. He appraises the situation, the opponent. He estimates himself. He takes means to augment his knowledge. He seldom attacks till he thinks himself certain of victory.

The direct attacker proceeds differently. He relies upon action. He seldom troubles to prepare. Like the bull at the gate, he flings himself upon the thing he wishes to master. More often than not, the attack is ill-advised. It is as easy for him to run away, as a rule, as it is to advance; and as easy to advance again. He is swayed by feelings. Defeat depresses him, but the depression is short-lived. His buoyancy is remarkable.

We may regard all conduct, all behaviour, as consisting in action and reaction between an individual and his environment. Life is a continual adjustment of both, each to the other. The ideal, normal man is concerned with both. But with the normal man or child we shall have little to do, since these hardly exist outside the textbook, as valuable fictions of psychological science. The people we shall meet in the world, and the children we shall meet in the classroom, depart, little or much, from this ideal standard.

The strategist of whom we have spoken is the

type whom Jung has named the "introvert." Life for him is not an affair of adjustment of the organism and the environment, each to the other. He seeks to live by adaptation of himself. He is the man who becomes "bookish," a "theorist," and at best the capable organiser. He is unfitted, as a rule, for an executive job.

The other, on the contrary, seeks to live by modifying his surroundings. He has always a number of "irons in the fire"; his finger is in every pie. He is the executive man: as organiser or thinker he fails. He is precipitate in action. At worst he is a muddler. Jung calls this type the "extravert."

Naturally enough, we shall seldom find pure types. The ordinary man does not run to these extremes, but he lies between the ideal normal and one of them. We are able to say that he tends toward "introversion" or "extraversion."

We shall discover evidence of this in the day-dream also. The dreamer describes himself as taking part in the activities that go on before his eyes, or as regarding them in the rôle of a spectator. The latter may be taken as an indication of a balance of introversion: and the former, in general, as an indication of tendencies towards extraversion. But excessive daydreaming is in any case indicative of introversion.

Case VII. D., a man of twenty-three years

of age, a member of a University, found considerable difficulty in concentrating on his reading. At such times he found himself vividly daydreaming.

The daydream was almost invariably the same. He saw two fleets, which were about to engage in action. It was his duty to make himself responsible for the disposition of the one, arranging for its gunfire to be such that not a single enemy should escape. He imagined the task completed, and the enemy destroyed. But he could never satisfy himself that his preparations were sufficiently complete to warrant him in ordering his ships to open fire. There seemed always to be something more to do.

This daydream has been quoted in order to show the nature of the introversive type of reverie. It is singularly apropos, since it continues the metaphor that has already been employed, in regarding introversion and extroversion as modes of attack upon life, in the attempt to secure mastery for the self over the environment.

Many of the child's early fantasies are concerned with growing up. Naturally so, since the child is dominated by the grown-up people about him, and he consequently comes to regard growing up as a necessary preliminary to domination on his own account. He takes pleasure in announcing what he will do when he grows up, and in

thinking out what he will be. The choice is not so haphazard as it may seem at first sight. The child is less attracted to the people he sees, than to the people he sees displaying themselves in dominating other people, animals, or big things. The policeman is important, since people obey him. The tram conductor is a person who strikes the imagination, since he tells the driver when to stop and when to go on, and makes people give him money: further, he has the sole right of using the marvellous ticket-punch. The driver of a railway engine is also a wonderful person, since he controls a whole train, with a number of people in it.

We find therefore that the child's earliest fantasies about his future are those in which he regards himself as policeman, tram conductor, or as driver of horses, trams, motors or trains.

Case VIII. A child of three years, accompanying his mother on a shopping expedition pointed out a man who was cranking up a motor.

"Look, mamma," said he, "*that's me winding up that motor.*"

It is rather later that the ordinary child feels an ambition to become a teacher. To discover the motive underlying this wish, it is useless to inquire as to the nature of the services that the teacher renders to the community, and to assert

that the child is stirred by an altruistic desire to serve mankind in a particularly valuable way. It is more fruitful to watch children playing at school in the streets. It then becomes clear that the child who takes the part of "teacher" has no ideas beyond those of controlling and punishing other children. The desire to become a teacher, like the "playing at schools," is no more than an expression of the wish to dominate others.

The themes of domination and display are to be traced in all the early choices of a profession by children and adolescents. Nowadays, one finds that a considerable proportion of the children in the upper standards of elementary schools, and a great many in secondary schools also, wish to be film actors or actresses. Here they are at one with a great many adults. It is hardly necessary to add that the great majority of those who dream of themselves as successful actors and actresses are gaining compensation for the lack of opportunities for successful display in the eyes of the people about them: for obvious reasons.

The typical relation of the wishes expressed in the daydream and the actual circumstances which surround the dreamer are well stated in the following daydream and comment supplied me by a boy, working in Standard III of an elementary school, although of an age at which he should have been in Standard VI:—

Case IX. I often dream that I am reciting poetry in front of my chums at school, and that they are cheering me.

This is different from real life. I have never been praised for recitation.

In summing up the foregoing account of the typical daydream, it seems well to state that the examples cited are taken from a collection of some hundreds, and that they have been selected, not because they are different from those that have been omitted, but because they illustrate a little more clearly than others the principal characteristics. Any teacher may confirm this by collecting the daydreams of his pupils, or by noting his own. Even if, as so many adults are at first prepared to state, his daydream is concerned with his work, he will note that it is less with his work as he does it than with his work as he would wish to do it in order to shine in the eyes of some particular person or persons, or to experience elation. In brief, it is a Fantasy of Display.

The daydream, then, is to be regarded as an ideal realisation of instinctive wishes that are thwarted in reality. The emotions which accompany it are those which would accompany successful instinctive activity. Indulgence of the daydream is therefore an escape from "reality" for the sake of "pleasure."

Daydreams are invariably egoistic, concerned with successful display or domination, with a purely selfish mastery of others for the sake of the pleasure of the individual. They reveal an attitude towards the environment, a "protest" against reality, and a conception of the mode of attack upon life which will lead to success and mastery.

CHAPTER III

THE DAYDREAM (*continued*)

It will not be difficult, in view of what has been said in the preceding chapter as to the nature of the daydream, for the teacher to understand a great many of the difficulties he meets with in his work. Not so very long ago I was listening to a Head Master giving what appeared to me to be a particularly fascinating lesson in a very able manner. After the lesson had gone on for about ten minutes, some boys began to put their fingers in their mouths or upon their lips. It was fairly easy to see, by watching them, that their attention had begun to wander, that these boys were daydreaming. By taking counts at the end of each five minutes, I was able to know that the numbers varied. Nor were they at all times the same boys who were not attending, for some would leave daydreaming and attend to the matter in hand. But, generally speaking, the numbers increased as time went on. There were moments when a considerable proportion of the class was daydreaming. In a lesson where the matter follows a logical

sequence from beginning to end, inattention for a few moments necessitates that the whole must be repeated.

We have, as a rule, been content to say in the past that the boy does not attend to the lesson because it does not interest him. This does not help very much unless the analysis goes a great deal farther. It has seldom gone farther. The result has been that attempts have been made to alter the subject matter of lessons, and mode of presentation, and apparatus in general, in order that lessons may be invested with a certain attractiveness which it was believed that they lacked. The attempts have not always been wise. Teachers have at times discovered that illustrations interested children a great deal, and have been tempted to use these until their purpose, as adjuvants of certain teaching, was lost sight of, so that what should have been a lesson on a certain subject became really a lesson on certain illustrations. In other words, the man who has had to teach something that was not interesting, has taught something else that was interesting. But if the former task were worth doing, it should not have been replaced in this way by a substitute. The problem has not been faced and disposed of, but merely evaded.

It is hardly possible to deal with this question without dealing with the problem of interest. Some part of this has already arisen in connection

with the study of the daydream, where we discovered that we are prone to withdraw our attention from the matter in hand and transfer it to the daydream, which interests us more. A great portion of our waking life is devoted to activities that are either daydreaming or that border closely upon it, and we are justified in saying that the subject of our daydreams is one that is of great interest for us. The subject in question, however, is ourselves and our instinctive wishes.

In the daydreams of children that we have considered, these wishes are concerned with domination and display.

The ordinary lesson gives little opportunity of domination or display to any one save the teacher. The modern teacher is very different from his predecessor in many ways, and is less inclined to over-value "discipline." Not many years ago the boy in school was condemned to sit rigidly still upon furniture designed to keep him in a position that was considered proper for educational purposes, whilst he listened attentively to every word that the master said. At times he was required to raise the right hand in a prescribed fashion in order to answer questions. The master, on the other hand, was able to gratify to the full any tendencies he may have had in the direction of domination and display. The boy had no such opportunities: his business was to submit, and if he did not do this to the full, he was liable to be

punished in ways that aimed at degrading him or making him appear ridiculous and contemptible to his fellows. The whole system was designed to oppose and thwart every instinctive motive of a normal boy.

The modern teacher, with another attitude towards "discipline," appeals much more successfully to the boy's real nature, and the results are seen in the different attitude towards school that is noticeable in the majority of the children attending our elementary and secondary schools. The teacher is, on the whole, less inclined to insist that he is a "master," and more anxious to rest his authority on a recognition of his worth by his pupils than on force and repression.

No view of the child can be complete that does not look forward to the man he is to become. The task entrusted to the teacher is that of guiding the children in his care towards a normal manhood. It is hardly his place to endeavour to make scholars, or even cranks, of his pupils. The unusually clever boy may bring the teacher immediate credit, but the final justification of the teacher in our society is the progress made by the mass, a slow and steady progress, towards a higher average of moral and intellectual achievement.

It may be well, therefore, to turn aside from the immediate problem of the child's interests, and devote some consideration to the question of the interests of the adult. We can study these

best and most fairly when we study men in crowds.

Men are united in crowds on the basis of a common interest. We may have the crowd assembled in one place, or we may have the crowd dispersed in place and time. The crowd assembled to watch a cup-tie football match is an instance of the one; the admirers of Dickens of the other.

The basis of a common interest is all-important. The stream of people passing over Brooklyn Bridge or in front of the Mansion House is not a crowd in any psychological sense. The common interest implies a common instinctive motive, receiving approximately the same gratification, accompanied by the same emotion. The units, the individuals of a crowd are therefore united by a community of motive, of experience, and of emotion.

What exactly is the nature of the emotion and the motive? This varies, naturally enough, with the occasion for the assembly. But analysis goes to suggest that the possible variations are few in number.

Let us consider first the football crowd already referred to. The match occurs between the employees of two limited liability companies, who have only the slightest associations with the towns whom they "represent." Thousands of people assemble to watch the match, few of whom have anything to gain or lose by the result, be it what

it may: many of these do not live in or near the towns that are nominally pitted against each other.

It is impossible to watch such a match without realising that the great number of the spectators are taking a much more than mere spectacular interest in the play. They follow the activities of the players with an interest that is intense and that is irrational if judged by the real importance of the event. They show the interest that we should expect if the players' fortunes were their own. Some of the spectators are unable to limit the expression of their interest to facial changes: they leap about, wave their arms, and shout. They imitate the movements of the man on the field in whom they are especially interested, going so far as to charge violently people at the side of them when charging takes place on the field. Such conduct warrants us in believing that the spectators, in greater or lesser degree, *identify themselves with the players.* Their body remains on the stand, but their personality—whatever that may be—is for the moment on the field, playing the game, displaying itself before an applauding crowd.

Most people have enjoyed the experience of "living through" a book which they have read. We appear, at the end of such an experience, to return to reality in much the same manner in which we return to real life at the conclusion of a daydream. We cannot live through every book

we read, nor can the spectator live through every spectacle that he sees. The man who enters fully into a football match might conceivably be bored by grand opera. The woman who can project herself into a novel by Stephen McKenna would probably find a tale by one of the people who write popular serials for Sunday newspapers so dull that it could stir in her no feeling whatsoever.

In considering spectacles and novels, it would at first seem that we have wandered far from the daydream. But the three differ only in that the first presents us with action, the second with verbal images, and the third with mental images. In the first and second, also, the images are presented to us in a sequence which is independent of ourselves, whereas in the daydream images and order of presentation are determined within us. In the daydream, we create . . . that is, we select and rearrange, from the store of images accumulated somewhere in our minds, the series which expresses the subject of the daydream; so that *every daydream is more interesting to us than the reality which is contemporaneous with it.* Every spectacle and every novel is not more interesting than the reality of the moment. From these dramas of action and of verbally presented images, it would seem, we select those that offer us something which interests us more than the material needs of the moment.

The spectacle and the tale may be regarded, to

this extent only for the present, as ready-made daydreams. From the host of ready-made garments which tailors stock, we shall find a few only that will meet our requirements in all respects, and satisfy us as completely as clothing made especially to our order from materials which we have personally selected. Such an analogy enables us to understand why it is that we are able to live in all our daydreams, but in a few only of the episodes that we see or of which we read.

The wish to become a professional footballer or boxer is a frequent one with adolescent boys. Very common, too, is the daydream of victory on the football field or in the ring. A typical daydream is the following, narrated by a boy of fifteen, attending a municipal secondary school in an industrial town:—

Case X. I dream that I am about to enter the boxing-ring to fight with a professional opponent. A great crowd has assembled to witness the match, and there are loud cheers on my appearance.

The fight begins. After two minutes I give my opponent the "knock-out," and he is counted out. I am carried from the ring on the shoulders of my supporters, amid deafening applause.

(The narrator goes on to say that nothing of this kind has happened in reality.)

Many similar daydreams, relating to similar exploits of a spectacular nature, might be added:

to little purpose, since the majority are practically identical. But it becomes clear that the victor in the boxing-ring, or the successful centre-forward or goalkeeper, is doing in fact what so many of the lookers-on are doing or have done in fantasy. He is giving a semblance of reality to their day-dreams. In him, vicariously, they are living their wishes.

Such a conception assists materially in the understanding of the popularity of spectacular performances, of "stunts" in general. These are to be regarded as displays of an exaggerated kind; beholding which, the spectator is enabled to fulfil, by means of projection of himself into the protagonist, his own instinctive wishes for display and self-assertion. That such projection is possible is no new discovery, though it has remained for modern psychology to relate it to other forms of mental activity. Thus Shelley is quoted by Bradley as saying: "The Athenian tragedies represent the highest idealisms of passion and of power (not merely of virtue); and in them we behold ourselves, under a thin disguise of circumstances, stripped of all but that ideal perfection and energy which every one feels to be the eternal type of all that he loves, admires and would become."[1]

That the display demanded is of so exaggerated

[1] *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, by A. C. Bradley (Macmillan and Co., London, 2nd ed., 1919), p. 164.

a character to-day as in the time of the Roman decadence, is to be explained, at least in part, as of the nature of the compensation discussed in the previous chapter. The majority of the people who assemble at football matches or in cinematograph theatres are denied in their lives, by nature of their circumstances and occupations, any sort of fulfilment of the wishes associated with the instinct of self-assertion. Hence we should anticipate that their daydreams would be more wildly fantastic in character than those of people more favourably circumstanced in this respect. If the daydreams of a number of schoolboys are examined, it is found that the more exaggerated daydreams occur in the greatest proportion amongst those who are not very successful in work or in games. The backward boy who is cheered in his daydreams is a boy whose work never merits a word of praise.

It is often objected, by the critics of the cinematograph theatre, that the plays which are presented are not at all true to real life. That may be. But they are very true to the average daydream, and the view of life which it presents.

It is not without significance that the subject of the book which is regarded as the first English novel—Richardson's *Pamela*—is the story of a servant-girl who married her master, and who thus became mistress in the house where she was formerly servant. The theme has been a popular

one ever since, and has, with slight changes of scene and dress, served as the plot for novels and plays without number.

There has been, for many years, discussion amongst dramatic critics as to the merits of "serious" plays. Excellent as these may be, they have but a limited appeal. It is difficult to generalise, but in the main these plays criticise contemporary life, and suggest a reconstruction along thoughtful and serious lines, with the object of stimulating thought in the spectator, and leading him to work towards the attainment of some such alteration in the life of his time. The end in view is a social one, and the playwright is animated by some such consideration as an abstract principle—justice, love or service.

But the ends of the daydream, as we have already seen, are egoistic in their nature. The demand for the play that shall be popular has produced a play that is in conformity with the structure of the daydream. The appearance of Mayfair and the aristocracy in melodramas and serial stories is not due to any innate affection on the part of the audience or reader for Mayfair or the aristocracy: but because these stand for a particular kind of eminence, a social domination that is desired. The Mayfair and the aristocracy of the melodrama and the serial story are as much unlike their prototypes as they could possibly be. But they stand for grandeur and domination, as

these are conceived in daydreams. It is hardly so true to say that people of narrow experience get their ideas of the aristocrat from melodrama and novelettes, as to say that they obtain them from their daydreams, as do the writers. The large house, the crowds of attendants, the splendid robes, the rich food, the abundance of money, the careless largesse . . . these are all daydream features.

It is possible to study a number of things which make a wide appeal to large masses of men, an appeal so great that these are induced to part with money and to forego material advantages in attending to the appeal, and to say that these interest people because they repeat the motives of the daydream. A study of popular illustrated papers, of advertisements, of music-hall turns, of songs, of plays, of films, of novels and stories, of poems, and of pictures, seems inevitably to lead to this conclusion. In many of these the connection is obvious; in others, the relation of the appeal to the daydream is disguised, and the penetration of the disguise calls for considerations that will be discussed later.

In this brief study of popular appeal we have, however, discovered something of importance in connection with interest. *Our deepest interests are bound up with our instinctive wishes.*

It is valuable in this connection to consider the stories which appeal to the average child

above all others—fairy tales. The interest is surprising to many adults, since the subject of the fairy story is so far removed from real life, and, moreover, fairy stories are so very much alike.

The "Cinderella" and the "Ugly Duckling" type of story are among the most popular. The theme that is common to both stories is that of a young creature who is misunderstood and persecuted by other members of the family, but who is in the end recognised as more beautiful and more worthy of praise than the former persecutors.

It is worth noting how closely this theme follows the situation in which a young child finds himself. There arise many occasions on which he is overlooked, or deprived of some privilege that he desires, because of his tender age. He cannot accompany older brothers and sisters on long excursions, because he is not strong enough to walk so far. He is not allowed to remain up late, because he is not old enough. Children protest that they are quite strong enough for the walk and beg to be allowed to postpone their bedtime. When pleas are unavailing, they sometimes make exaggerated statements about the things that they will do when they are older or bigger. They regard the going to bed as a punishment, the remaining at home whilst their brothers go for excursions as a deprivation, and see in these things nothing more than the capricious tyranny of a powerful adult. The will of older persons is set

against theirs, caprice against caprice, so far as they are able to understand, and it is easy to see that the child looks forward to the time when he shall grow up and set things right, when he shall decide the bedtime of other people, and when he shall do things that his brothers and sisters cannot do. "Hop o' my Thumb" and "Jack the Giant-Killer" are stories that are in accord with his immediate wishes. But the *dénouements* of "The Ugly Duckling" and "Cinderella" are consonant with the outlook upon himself, and with the hopes that he has of the future.

The changed attitude towards the parents that is a result of the lessening of the child's dependence upon them, and attempt on their part to discipline him, has already been referred to in the previous chapter. The childish statement, "You are not my mother," was spoken of; and a daydream was given in which a boy belittled his mother in a number of ways. Further, in actual life he attempted to run away from her. It will be remembered that in stories of the Cinderella type insistence is laid upon the fact that the mother is dead, and that the heroine is cared for by a stepmother. There are no brothers or sisters; merely stepsisters. In some forms of the story there is a father living, but he is a vague person, sometimes loving the heroine, but unable to assist her in any way. He is little better than a creature of the stepmother.

The unkindness of the other members of the family towards the heroine is always brought out in a few definite ways:—

(1) She is not permitted to share in their privileges, but remains at home whilst the others go out to enjoy themselves.

(2) She is regarded by the other members of the family as an inferior.

(3) She is dominated by the stepmother and stepsisters, and is allotted a number of disagreeable tasks.

(4) When important visitors call, she has to remain out of sight.

The heroine's fortunes are determined by either her dead mother, who secretly returns to her in some form, or by the fairy godmother, who presided over her birth. It is somebody, that is to say, who knew and loved her before the time of persecution set in, somebody more powerful than herself, but who loves her completely and is devoted to her service. The time prior to the persecution is the time that is remembered, when she was admired and applauded by her little world, when she was helpless, but was thought much of because of what she was, and not because of what she did. It is the gifts of these people that are to count in determining the fortunes of Cinderella, who is to become a princess because

of the gifts bestowed upon her at her birth, gifts which are hidden from the envious people about her, and which cannot ordinarily be seen in the light of day. The prince is the lover who will admire her as her mother once admired her, who will give her the first place in his affections, the place that she once held with her parents and in her household.

The egoistic attitude which this story represents, and which we find repeated in a number of daydreams, is a great deal more common than might be supposed. The varying forms which it may assume may be tabulated thus:—

(1) The belief that one is entitled to love and admiration as a right, independently of one's actions.

(2) The belief in a splendid self that is not visible to the world about one. This is a recollection of the early adoration which one enjoyed as an infant.

(3) The belief that there exists somebody who will see in one the things that are hidden from those who look on one as inferior or ordinary, and will discover the "real self."

(4) The belief that one is really "first" in one's surroundings, and is not recognised because of a conspiracy.

If we discover these fantasies in an adult, we

are entitled to regard them as morbid. In a child, we may consider them as indicating a phase in his mental evolution that will be superseded by later phases. They certainly do persist in a great many adults, and are to be regarded as indicative of a *fixation* upon an infantile stage of development.

The fantasies that we have discovered in such a story as Cinderella are not by any means confined to fairy stories, but are also to be discovered in myths that have been accepted as beliefs by men of every race. The typical structure of some of the most common may be summed up as:—

(1) The hero is born of people of exalted rank —gods, heroes, emperors or kings. Sometimes one parent is a god, and the mother a specially selected person, *e. g.*, Remus and Romulus were born of Mars and a vestal virgin. Heroes were born as a result of the union of a god with a nymph or a mortal.

(2) The hero is abandoned or persecuted by his real parents, or by his father.

(3) The hero is adopted by people of low origin, whom he regards as his real parents.

(4) The hero distinguishes himself above his playfellows by stature, beauty or dignified bearing; or by deeds of bravery, by his conversation or by miracles.

(5) The hero meets his real father, and so

impresses himself upon him that the latter acknowledges him, and places him in his rightful position. Alternatively, the hero meets and slays his father, unwittingly.

(6) The hero rewards those who treated him well when he was unknown, and revenges himself upon those who treated him badly. Sometimes there is a great deal of forgiveness of the latter, provided they acknowledge his present rank.

The question of the substantial truth of myths and legends is a matter for the historian, and does not concern us here. We are interested merely in the investigation of their appeal to men and women; and this is to be understood, as we have seen, from the resemblance of the hero to ourselves, as we picture ourselves to ourselves in fantasies. The story of the hero interests us deeply because we are able to *project* ourselves into the hero, and in him fulfil our deepest unfulfilled wishes. It is possible to find large numbers of men and women in the world who are deeply moved by the hero myths—much more deeply than we can understand, if we take into consideration merely rational grounds. It is rare to find children who are not stirred by the stories of the heroes. Of late years publishers have found it profitable to put on the market editions of the myths of all nations, as well as of the cycles of legends that have gathered about the names of

Ulysses, Arthur, Charlemagne and Roland amongst others; and these frankly for the use of children and their teachers.

It must not be imagined that the people to whom the ancient myths do not appeal are free from daydreams of the type which the myths represent. It is necessary only to read a number of stories from current fiction magazines in order to see that these, in the main, repeat the same myth in a degraded form: degraded because it is dressed in a garb that more closely resembles common life. The same thing is revealed by the study and comparison of a number of cinematograph dramas, of serial stories, and of popular novels. One very popular novelist, whose sales ran into hundreds of thousands, was able to manufacture a great number of novels, the majority of which were concerned with a theme which may be thus summarised:—

(1) A girl, of very commonplace type, meets with losses which make it imperative that she should mix with people who are inferior to her in every way.

(2) She is ill-treated by the people amongst whom she has to live. Sometimes one girl only is able to glimpse the real quality of the heroine.

(3) Her employer, or some immediate superior, uses his position to dominate the girl in ways that are unpleasant. His attitude increases the

persecution meted out to her by the other workpeople.

(4) A chance encounter brings her into contact with a man, apparently as unfortunate as herself. He is able to see in her "the real self," which the others are unable to see, or which they jealously resent. He loves her "for herself alone." In some way he outwits the persecutor and saves the girl from him.

(5) She marries, and discovers that the man she has married is really rich, is usually titled, and that he has assumed poverty in order to be loved "for himself alone."

The commonplaceness of the heroine has been insisted upon in (1) as being important. If the heroine is of a marked type, then it is difficult for the average reader to project herself into her, and through her to realise her own wishes. If the heroine seems at all to be markedly different from the common run of people, it will be found that this difference is the result of emphasis on some particular characteristic, which merely goes to make her a little less like the reader, but a little more like the reader's daydreamed picture of herself. A book with a clever heroine is more likely to achieve popularity than a book with a Tibetan heroine.

The author in question seldom varied his theme. His readers and reviewers used to say that his

books were all alike. But people went on reading one after the other, as rapidly as they were published.

Such considerations make it clear why a "happy ending" is insisted upon by the editors of English fiction magazines. Authors believe very often that the editors are wrong. This is unlikely, since the editor risks his position and a good deal of money upon the soundness or unsoundness of his judgment of the taste of the public for which he caters. The author is able to submit his unpublished stories to a small circle of his friends only. Their verdict must necessarily be a less safe guide to the public taste than the wide experience of the editor of a popular magazine.

The present chapter has attempted to deal with a matter of the utmost importance to those who are concerned with the understanding of the motives of human beings, of whatever age, rank or standing. It is a matter so wide in its scope that a book, several times the size of the present one, might be devoted to the mere presentation and examination of the material required for complete evidence. Naturally, therefore, the discussion is to be regarded as incomplete, though not necessarily superficial or misleading.

What is of importance in the present treatment is the insistence that, if we wish to learn something of human motives, we must look for evidence in human beings themselves, and try to understand

the things they do and that they wish to do. We must study every department of human expression, and that sympathetically, or at least with detachment. Nothing is learned by deploring that people spend their Saturdays at football matches, or their evenings in cinematograph theatres, and that they spend money without securing material advantages as a result. Nor is it of value to regard some of the interests of men as depraved, and to seek the reason of their attraction in human wickedness; perhaps it were better to say, refuse to seek the reason, and to make an assumption of human wickedness. If we have a bias which makes us inclined to regard much that is popular in this way, it is more than ever necessary to examine scientifically the depravity and wickedness, so that we may understand them.

We shall find, here and there, men who seem to have estimated themselves rightly, and who are able to effect progressive adjustments between themselves and the world about them, men who are absorbed in the work they are doing and who find in it such fulness of expression, such completeness of life, that they need no refuge from reality. They have not to turn aside to myths and daydreams, of their own or other men's creating. But these men are rare.

We reach the conclusion that human motives are to be sought in the instinctive tendencies, and that for an explanation of "popular" or "crowd"

motives we must look to those instincts which are denied full expression in ordinary life. The unfulfilled instinct leads us to look on the world in much the way that the starving man looks through the plate-glass windows of a baker's shop. The craving for self-assertion makes us look at the general enjoying a triumphal progress, the athlete whom thousands of people are watching with admiration, the hero of the play, with interest and pleasure, because in them and through them we enjoy for a brief moment the fulfilment of our unfulfilled wishes. Envy and resentment may come at another time. But it is more important for us that our cravings should be satisfied, even if vicariously only, than that we should hate.

Is there no way of putting an end to the daydream? The question seems of importance, for if this could be achieved, the teacher would immediately benefit, inasmuch as his most serious rival for the pupil's attention would disappear.

But the eradication of the instinctive wishes would mean the eradication of the whole of the pupil's motives; not motives for daydreaming only, but for doing anything whatsoever.

Since, however, the daydreaming activity is concerned with the wishes that are unfulfilled, it would seem as if the solution lay in fulfilling them all. This is impossible. We have already seen the socially valueless and egoistic nature of these wishes. Their fulfilment would make human

society of any sort impossible. There is no savage community where the unrestricted play of all instinctive wishes is permitted. Contrary to the general opinion on the subject, the life of the savage is hedged about with a great number of restraints, so that it is doubtful if the number of his unfulfilled wishes is less than that of the civilised man of European civilisation. Freedom, in this particular sense of the word, is unknown where any organisation exists, and seems to be impossible. It is certainly incompatible with any high human development.

There is a third course, and one which is possible. This is, to direct the instinctive tendencies to fulfilments that are of social value. So far as material results are concerned, daydreaming is an apparently futile process. It leads, however, to the formulation and expression of the wishes that may, if opportunity arises, motivate actions of great value to society. If the daydream of display expresses the individual's desire for distinction over his fellows, so also does the public activity of our greatest men. These things are obviously not equal, but they have a common source.

In the psychanalytic view, the chief aim of education is to discover the nature of the deep instinctive motives of children, and to train them from egoistic levels of expression to altruistic levels. So long as the wishes seek an egoistic

outlet, society must, in self-defence, forbid them expression in action, so that no expression is possible for them except futile daydreaming or the symptoms of nervous disease. But if altruistic outlets are desired, so that society benefits by the expression in action of the motives, a real fulfilment becomes possible and permissible. Action implies an adjustment between the individual and his environment that is continuous and progressive. Action results in an accession of health and happiness, whereas the subjective process of daydreaming has upon the organism something of the effect of a drug, giving merely momentary pleasure. The transition from egoistic and subjective expression of instinctive motives to altruistic and objective expression has been termed *sublimation*, and will be more fully considered in later chapters.

CHAPTER IV

PLAY

PLAY is a term which is somewhat loosely used, but which may be understood as denoting activities which are carried on for the sake of the pleasure they give, and not for any objective end. Their end, that is to say, is subjective; and this is a feature common to playing and daydreaming.

There is a type of "play" with which everybody who has taught young children is familiar. It consists in apparently aimless movements connected with the fingers, the face, a garment or a button, a pen or ruler, or with the lid of a desk. It repeats the movements of infancy—the exploring of the body, the tugging at a fastening, the hammering of a spoon upon a table, or the examination of an unfamiliar article held in the hand. It is accompanied by the wandering of attention, by the lapse into the daydream. It would seem as if the child were endeavouring to escape from a lesson which was boring him by means of a return to earlier activities, either

because these were pleasurable in themselves, or because they led to results that were pleasurable, such as the attraction of the attention of other people to himself.

Such playing and daydreaming must be accepted as evidence of the fact that the lesson does not appeal to the whole of the child, and that they are capable of appealing more strongly, and of stealing interest from the lesson. They indicate the real direction of the child's interest, and suggest that the attention paid to a great part of the lesson is a coerced attention. The bearing of this point on problems connected with memory is of great importance.

The child will not, of course, if left to play as he will, remain in a school desk, fidgeting with pen or desk-lid. According to his age, the free child will play with toys of a suitable kind, alone or in company with other boys.

The evolution of play in the case of an individual child is the story of the progress from solitary play to the team game.

The question of play has been discussed from a variety of standpoints by different writers. Its nature and development have been studied in connection with the theory that the individual repeats in an abbreviated form the history of his race. Its value has been studied by those who hold that play fulfils a purposive function. Again, the movements of play have been studied

by those who wish to enlist play as a means of securing the child's physical welfare.

We are not concerned here with any of these aspects of play. It is rather our business to relate play to the instinctive tendencies, and to discover its function as a means of gratifying the instincts. One of the earliest forms of play, as we are using the term, is to be seen when the child holds a spoon or a small stick in his hand, and hammers with it on the table. The noise he makes is very great, as is his enjoyment. If he is interfered with, and the stick is taken away, he becomes angry, or begins to cry. These are the results when an instinctive activity is baffled. The enjoyment is indicative of an instinctive activity in progress. The child is feeling the emotion of elation, and the activity in question is connected with successful self-assertion.

We find the same instinct in connection with all play that is solitary, in which a toy is used. All the favourite toys of a child—whips, balls, stones, dolls, building bricks, ninepins, and so forth—are means of successful self-assertion. All are concerned with opportunities of mastery; either mastery of themselves, or of other things by means of themselves.

The doll is a toy that offers no resistance, so that mastery of it is fairly easy. It is the ball that seems to present the maximum of possibilities, since mastery of it can be made more and more

difficult at will, and yet be maintained within the player's grasp. This may not suggest that the child takes a very sporting attitude towards his play, and indeed the young child does not—he is far too eager to win. He is able to do many feats with his ball, that make his mastery of it a very real thing to him, but that are yet not so difficult that the mastery passes out of his grasp. The child sets himself tasks that he believes beforehand that he is capable of performing.

The child is selfish about his play. He monopolises his toys as a rule. He is impatient and eager to play. If another child attempts to show him some new way of using a toy, the owner interrupts him continually, "Let me do it." When he has successfully mastered a difficult feat, he calls on adults to witness its repetition. Such play is to be regarded as mere egoistic self-assertion.

There is another instinct whose working is to be seen in the child's attitude towards his toys. This is the instinct of ownership, or possession. It appears to arise at a stage when the child does not at all clearly realise the distinction between himself and the world outside him. Any possession, anything that is his, seems to be a part of him, or to be an extension of his personality. Any possession makes him greater and more important. The child's respect for mere size makes him regard any extension of his own importance as something that is very desirable.

This attitude towards property is one that is well worth consideration. It is not sufficiently realised that the mind of a child is not merely a little human mind. It is so different that it may be regarded as a mind apparently different in kind from the mind of a man.

We meet here with an attitude towards property that recalls the attitude of savage or primitive men. Certain magical practices rest upon the belief that the property of a man is a part of himself, and that the magician, by treating some part of a man's property in a certain manner, is able to effect injury to the owner. This may be the reason, though others have been assigned, why a dead man's possessions, including even his livestock, his wives and his slaves, are buried with him. It might be argued that this attitude towards property persists in many adults, civilised and cultured people, who would deny it if questioned. Their conduct, however, implies an attitude towards possessions which cannot altogether be accounted for by its usefulness or its value to them. The collector might be referred to as an instance.

Coventry Patmore has written a poem in which he tells how his little son, having been sent to bed as a punishment, collected together a number of precious odds and ends and placed them on a table at the bedside. They were such things as coloured stones and glass—mere trifles, and

worthless to an adult—but they were possessions, and as such they were able to comfort and console a child suffering from the arbitrary tyranny of a father.

The child loves to accumulate playthings, and finds pleasure in spreading out all his treasures on the playroom floor. He loves, too, to have cupboards and boxes of his own, in which he may keep his possessions. He feels, in presence of his toys, the pleasure of an ancient king in his treasuries, and experiences the glow of positive self-feeling that came to Trimalchio when his steward read out at the banquet the details of his property.

The desire of mastery and of display is shown well in the building games that children play. Building is generally practised as solitary play. The child endeavours to make his castles high, and then higher, calling on adults to admire the wonderful structure he has made. Should the attempt fail at all, he dashes the building to the ground in anger. Sometimes, on the other hand, he destroys his building without anger, since he is able to assert himself as well by means of destruction as by means of construction. Nero gratifies the same instinct in burning Rome as Augustus in building it.

It would appear, therefore, that the early play of the child is directed towards the gratification of the instincts of self-assertion and of possession,

in a manner that is undisguisedly egoistic. If play is to be of value as a means of fitting the child for the social rôle which will be expected from him when he shall become an adult, a transformation must occur: the egoistic must develop into an altruistic side. Play must, in other words become socialised.

Socialisation begins as soon as play ceases to be solitary, as soon as it becomes shared.

The sharing of games results in a policy of "give and take." Two boys take turns in display at the expense of the other, one running away while the other pursues, one dominating whilst the other submits, and so on. But the end in view is still a small one, still egoistic and asocial, still the gratification of an individual wish. A higher end does not come into view until the individual joins himself to a team, and works for the ends of the whole, neglecting his own immediate ones. It is found, as a result, that the individual is able to gain more self-feeling as a result of such subordination of himself. But the desire personally to shine is not now a conscious end, though it persists unconsciously. It has been replaced by the wish for the honour of the team.

It is possible to see strange imitations of team play. One frequently sees a small group of boys in the streets or in a public park, who have joined themselves together to play cricket. If

the whole group is under the domination of a single boy, larger than the others, then rules are modified in accordance with this boy's wishes. If he is run out, he decides that a player is "out" only when he is bowled out. Should he be bowled out, he decides that a player must be bowled three times before he is really out, and so on. If he happens not to be a good runner, then hits are to count as runs. But immediately the bully is out, the rules are enforced with a great deal of strictness. At other times, rules are relaxed in the interest of the owner of the bat, the ball or the stumps.

Such instances illustrate very well the difficulty that the individual feels when he endeavours to subordinate his own interests to those of a group. The adult who allies himself with a movement in order that he may shine, using it thus for his own ends, is not a social, but an asocial individual. Within the group display is always possible, but it is not the end, and is in any case subordinated to the ends of the group.

The process of socialisation is made easier for the individual if he is so placed that he is surrounded by examples and traditions, like those of a great public school. The public-school boy has an advantage in this repect that is not shared by the children of the elementary and secondary schools. Nor is it likely, whatever the future development of these may be, that they will ever

be able to offer to their pupils the full advantages of the public schools' games system. The public elementary and secondary schools have not at their command the money that is necessary for grounds and apparatus if games are to be developed to the level of those of the older public schools. Again, they are day schools, and this will always involve their being situated in populated districts, whilst it prevents the complete and continuous environment of tradition and example which is possible only in comparative isolation.

By means of subordination to a group, and identification with its interests, the individual is enabled to gratify yet another instinct, not less imperative than that of self-assertion: the instinct of subjection. The team game permits to him self-display within certain limits, which are bounded by the rules of the game and the ends of the team, to both of which he must without reserve submit himself. In such a game the boy discovers a fuller satisfaction than he has ever found in his solitary play, unless he is an unusual type of boy. Once he has discovered the delight of playing creditably for a side with which he has identified himself, the charm of solitary play has gone. In so far the individual has become social.

It is this aspect of play, rather than the possibilities of physical development that it offers,

that is of importance for education. It is the aspect which is often overlooked by advocates of games for elementary and secondary schools. Unless the supervision of play is carefully undertaken, supervised and organised play may easily become merely another school subject. Whatever advantages may accrue, the game will be deprived of its socialising value.

The games of the public schools have their parallel in some features of savage education. The transition of boy to man is easier for the savage than it is for us, partly because the society into which the boy is to enter is so much more complex and highly organised. It is difficult to imagine any single rite or any brief training that could claim to initiate a boy into a full understanding of modern life in all its aspects. But the initiation rite of the Australian savage is able to accomplish this very satisfactorily indeed.

It is not as if, in abandoning the rite, we had evolved some satisfactory substitute for it. We have merely deleted it from our life. Initiation is retained at present only by small circles. Confirmation may be regarded as the rite which initiates youth into the Church. Secret societies have their own initiation ceremonies. But the youth suffers because, in general, he is not so much initiated into manhood as flung into it. He has to learn, often furtively, the things that he is expected to know; and much important

knowledge comes to him as a rather shameful secret than as something that is really valuable and necessary. Much that he learns is told him by people who are, to say the least, unsuitable. On the other hand, similar things are told to the savage boy with dignity and impressiveness. He learns them from the lips of the worthiest and most respected members of the tribe, on an occasion that is deliberately made dignified and impressive by every resource of art, music, and drama, as the tribe understands them.

The importance of ritual has been emphasised so much of late by Dr. Hayward that it is hardly necessary to do more than refer to it here. Dr. Hayward has considered the problem somewhat differently from the way in which it has been presented here. But the principal use of ceremonial in his view is apparently the direction of the instinct of subjection or homage to worthy ends.

This is the instinct which, it would appear, is appealed to by the games of the public school. Critics of the public school are not as a rule concerned to point out that the games fail of their effect. They admit that the games are a great success, but they criticise them on the ground of the frivolity and unimportance of the subject matter. It is not right, they argue in effect, that a boy should be initiated into life by means of unimportant feats with a bat and a ball,

whilst the treasuries of national biography and of science remain untouched. They urge that a boy's instinct of homage should be appealed to by means of something loftier than the game.

There seems very little doubt that school ceremonials could very well be designed that should afford opportunity for communal activity through which the instincts we have considered, self-assertion and subjection, might be gratified. Occasions of national importance, the anniversaries of famous events, days associated with the lives of famous men, might be the occasion for celebrations that should impress upon children in a suitable way the facts that they are members one of another, in the circles of the family, the school, the country and the empire. In the many schools where games are impossible, such festivals might be organised to take their place; in others, to supplement them.

The game of the public school has a long history of success behind it. The communal festival or celebration is a practically untried thing. It seems certainly to have possibilities, and its chances of success are made greater by the resemblance it bears, in many essential respects, to the great educational experiment represented by the Scouts' and Guides' organisations.

The Scout movement, by means of uniform and badges, permits to each individual member from the commencement a great deal of display.

The boy attracts the attention that all boys love. But the oath that he takes demands of him from the very first homage to certain persons; and this homage is made real to him, since it is associated with duties. The organisation into patrols, each under its distinctive flag, demands loyalty to a group. Further, the way in which the Scouts are used on occasions of civic and national display is a means whereby the circle of which the boy is a loyal member is extended, gradually and skilfully, from the patrol to the city and the nation.

It seems very certain that the sublimation of an instinctive activity from one plane of manifestation to another and higher one is more effectively accomplished when there is no consciousness of what is really being done. This is merely a re-statement of what good teachers have known for a long time: it is better, for example, that a boy should participate in, say, patriotic activities than that he should hear lectures on patriotism, and be told to live the precepts to which he has listened. Children become virtuous through having opportunities of virtuous conduct presented to them in such a way that they enjoy taking full advantage of them, rather than through a number of moral lessons.

Sublimation implies a transfer of interest without a change of motive. Motives of ownership,

self-display and subjection are probably the same the world over, but they may be made to serve selfish or altruistic interests; may be made socially injurious or valuable.

The so-called "bad boy" is, as a rule, a boy who is trying to derive in anti-social ways the instinctive gratifications that are denied him by real life. Where this is the case, it is clear that the remedy lies in the provision of opportunities, and not in further repression. It is clear that the youth who is denied opportunities of self-realisation through the narrow *milieu* in which he lives will be further denied such opportunities in a reformatory. Repression is, however, too popular to disappear suddenly, since the people who approve it are not likely to be easily convinced. Repression affords too much gratification to the person who imposes it for this to occur, being a form of domination and self-display that, being carried out for ostensibly moral reasons, has behind it a great weight of public approval, however useless it has proved in practice.

CHAPTER V

DREAMS

It is not surprising to discover, now that the daydream has been subjected to investigation, that the dreams of children are concerned with their wishes. The typical dream of a child is the dream that some wish, unfulfilled during the day, has been realised. It is found, on the basis of a number of dreams narrated by school children, that children who are plainly or scantily fed dream of feasts similar to those of which they read. Children who, for some reason or another, are unable to make excursions that have been planned, dream the same night that the wished-for excursion has taken place. In the same way children dream that they have become the possessors of toys for which they have longed.

The interpretation of such dreams offers no difficulty. They are simple fulfilments of unrealised and current wishes. But there are many dreams which do not seem so easily interpretable. Dreams of falling, of being swallowed, of drowning —none of these seem to be capable of being regarded as fulfilments of wishes.

Unless we are willing to fall back upon a fantastic theory, we must regard the dream as a product of the mind of the dreamer. He has "made it up": it is *his dream.* It is necessary to consider carefully the source of the materials and the process of composition.

It has been noticed by many people in the past that the dream bears some relation to the events of the day. The dream itself is a distorted picture of things that have apparently never happened and that seem unlikely ever to happen, but the materials that compose this picture are recognisable as part of the experiences of life at or near the time of the dream. Thus, a girl at school dreams that she has had to write her name six times. The experience as such has not occurred. But she has had during the day of the dream to write her name a second time, because the first attempt was practically illegible. She is very fond of writing her name, and hardly a day passes, but what she writes it to see how it looks. Six has come up in another connection, for she has received six pennies that day. Here, then, are the sources of the material.

I had been asked whether a certain professor, whose name resembles very much that of one of the Oxford colleges, was teaching in the University of Oxford. I was contemplating a visit to Oxford, in the course of which I intended calling at another college and consulting one of the

University readers. Within forty-eight hours I had dreamed a complicated dream, in which the two colleges appeared, and in which I walked from one to the other in the company of the reader. But a little time before the dream I had been writing a topical school sketch in which a restaurant played a part, so that in the dream one of the colleges changed into a café.

Except for its nonsensical appearance, the dream resembles a literary composition, in that its materials are taken from experience. The resemblance is still further seen in the way in which these materials are treated. There are considerable omissions. There is a great deal of elaboration of detail. There is a welding together of parts into a coherence. The total result is as coherent as a real experience, in many cases, and yet totally different.

We may speak, then, of condensation, of elaboration, of a harmonising of the parts into a whole (the "secondary elaboration" of Freud), as going on somewhere in the mind before the dream is complete. We may briefly describe the whole process as the "dream-work." The dream-work is comparable to literary composition, which the majority of people find very difficult of achievement. Yet this process goes on whilst we are totally unaware of it. Further, the result is quite unlike anything that we can recognise as our own. If it were possible for some one to present us

with a dream of our own which we had totally forgotten, and which we could not possibly recall or recognise, we could not say at once, from the form and nature of the dream, that it was our own. As a rule the dream is quite unlike the waking thoughts and activities of the dreamer.

It has been the custom until recently to regard dreams as nonsense, as of no importance. The use of such phrases as "You must have dreamt it," or "It seems like a dream," show the current mode of looking upon these products of our sleeping life. Savages and primitive peoples have, however, everywhere paid great attention to dreams, and have drawn up codes for their interpretation. The less educated and more superstitious sections of civilised races still have recourse to these codes, in the form of "dream-books." It is possible to see still, in journals which cater for these people, "interpretations" of the dreams of readers.

If we are inclined to pay attention to dreams and to regard them seriously, we are likely to be accused of reverting to the beliefs and practices of savages and those people to whom reference has already been made. But the point of view is different. In the first place, the scientific attitude towards dreams is exactly like the scientific attitude towards any other fact. The dream is a fact of experience, and may be examined in relation to other facts in precisely the same way that the facts of chemistry and physiology are

examined. In the particular view of the teacher, the attitude is exactly that which we have already adopted towards daydreams: that the dream is a product of the child's mental activity, a document that has not been consciously tampered with in order to please its parents and teachers. As such, it is far too important evidence to be ignored.

The simple wish-dream that has already been referred to needs very little interpretation. It affords a clue to the nature of the child's wishes in daily life. It is the typical dream of a young child, generally inspired by the wants that have been baulked of fulfilment during the day. The child who has to come away from the Zoo spends the night dreaming of the Zoo; the child who has been refused a toy possesses it in a dream.

Even in quite young children we meet with dreams which are not capable, at first sight, of treatment as simple wishes. The child who wakes in terror and cries because it dreamed that a terrible creature was about to eat it, can hardly be considered as wishing to be eaten. Many instances will occur to a reader who is acquainted with the dreams of children, or who is able to recall a number of his own.

The following dream is narrated by a boy of twelve years of age, a pupil in a secondary school:—

Case XI. I dreamed that I was in the bathroom with my mother. Suddenly I saw two

men looking in at the window. They were rough-looking men, and I knew that they must be burglars. I was very frightened. I cannot remember anything more.

The pupil who narrates the dream is a very intelligent boy, who made a most favourable impression on the teachers who interviewed him immediately before he entered the school. In the entrance examination he did so badly, however, that he had to be placed in the lower of the two forms to which entrants were assigned. In class he works well. It is clear that he is one of those unfortunate people who are at their worst in examinations and tests.

As the dream had occurred rather more than a week before it was communicated, it was impossible to discover what events of the day preceding the dream might have acted as inciters, or supplied the material. The boy was therefore asked to say what his mother and himself appeared to be doing in the dream. He said vaguely that they appeared to be washing their hands. His mother did not seem to be attending to him, but to herself. He was then asked to say what came into his mind when he thought passively of the word "burglars." He said without hesitation that he was afraid of burglars, and that he experienced this fear whenever he found himself alone in the house or in darkness. He fears that

burglars will enter the house or spring out of the darkness and attack him.

His father has repeatedly assured him that his fears are groundless. He has a great deal of confidence in his father, and believes that when he is present there is no cause for alarm. Either his father will master the burglars, or the burglars will keep away because his father is present. But when his father is absent, the fears return.

Evidently the dream has a real bearing on life. So superficial and incomplete an analysis as has been given is sufficient to link it up with a body of fears. It is useless to dismiss such fears as silly or unreal, as every one who has attempted to deal with them knows well, since they produce the same effects in life for the person they affect as if they were well grounded.

Can we, at this point, trace in the dream a wish? The dream represents burglars as appearing. But the associations that are evoked by the word "burglars" suggest that this is an occasion when the protection of the father is wished for. The appearance of the burglars is an expression of the wish for the father's protection.

The dreamer is a person who cannot stand alone. He has not freed himself from an attitude of dependence upon his father. His attitude to his teachers bears this out. He is dependent.

He further stated that he frequently had dreams which represented a ship at a distance.

He himself appeared to be swimming towards the ship, but made no progress. Questioning on this point revealed that he wished very much to swim, and had made repeated attempts to learn, but could not. He had failed because he was unable to "let himself go."

All these findings are consistent with one another. They all represent the boy as failing to rely upon himself, as fearing tests which make demands upon his capacity for self-reliance, and as still leaning for support upon his father or his teachers, who represent his father.

The first point of importance is that we have gained from the dream a great deal of knowledge about the boy that would have otherwise not been available. An experienced teacher might have gathered that the boy was lacking in self-reliance, but he could hardly have learned that he relied upon his father. It is doubtful if the ordinary methods of observation would have enabled him to connect the fear (of which he would probably never have learned) with the partial failure in examinations, or with the difficulty in learning to swim.

There are two ways in which one may proceed, having learned so much. One is to point out to the boy the nature of the mistake he is making, and to endeavour to educate him for self-reliance. If the boy can be taught to swim by means of special attention to his needs, or if he can be

encouraged to pass *one* examination successfully, a great deal will have been done.

The second way is to trace, by means of a detailed process of analysis, the origin of the attitude and of the wish. This is a slow and tedious process, demanding protracted individual attention, but it is radical, since it eliminates the attitude. The first way may be entirely successful, but it is impossible to be certain of this. The attitude has not been eliminated, and may appear again, even after the lapse of years. This is a point that will again be referred to.

Case XII. A boy of ten repeatedly dreamed that he was falling down. The details of the dream varied, but were taken from experiences of the day. Sometimes he would dream, after a visit to the beach, that he had fallen from the sea-wall, or after a visit to the artificial lake, on which model yachts were sailed, that he had fallen into the water. From these dreams he woke in terror, seeing sometimes the bed rising and falling, sometimes feeling very giddy.

It is not at all easy in such a dream to see the fulfilment of a wish. Questioning revealed that the boy has a terror of being left alone in the house, and a great fear of falling downstairs. He used to live in a house where there were many steep stairs, and he was repeatedly warned

that he would fall down them unless he were very careful.

He was asked a great many questions regarding the fear of falling downstairs. No such accident had ever occurred, he said very definitely. His questioner then went on to assure the boy that falling downstairs was not a very serious thing, after all, saying that he had often done it himself, and offering to do it again in the boy's presence if the latter cared to see it. But the boy said that he did not wish to see such a fall, and that it was a dreadful thing to think about. His questioner persisted that it was nothing of the sort. At last the child said, with a good deal of emotional excitement, that if he fell downstairs he would be ill and much upset. "I should shake all over, and be like this," said he, and began to make movements of his hands. The parents had noticed many times previously, on such occasions as the boy was excited, similar movements, and had thought of them as "St. Vitus' Dance," regarding them as a sign that the boy was nervous and highly strung.

Now it is to be noticed here that an examination of the dream has led up to the matter of a particular bodily symptom. The bodily symptom is described by the sufferer as a consequence of a fall downstairs. But the dreams, too, deal with falls, and we have already been led to believe that, in a great many dreams at least, we are

confronted with the fulfilment of a wish. We meet the possibility, therefore, that the bodily symptom and the dream alike express a wish to fall downstairs. The conclusion seems absurd. But the student of any science learns that he must not reject an inference merely because it happens to look absurd. Theories are to be discredited when they are inconsistent with the facts, not when they conflict with our prejudices as to what they ought to be.

In the case with which we are dealing, therefore, the possibility that there was a wish to fall, not conscious, was kept in mind. It was found, on further inquiry, that the child repeatedly daydreamed of falling. He thought of himself as falling into a pond, to which his mother often took him so that he might sail his yacht. We have already discovered that the daydream expresses a wish whose fulfilment is denied in reality.

We have here, therefore, three lines of evidence, all converging on this one point of falling. There seems to be a wish whose fulfilment in reality is out of the question, but whose fulfilment is in some way expressed by "falling." And we have the further clue that is to be found in the conscious fear, when the child is left alone in the house, of falling downstairs.

This latter fact makes us inclined to question the former hypothesis. If the child fears falling,

how can he have a wish to fall? This question must be borne in mind, but we must not yet cast away an hypothesis for which we have the support of three distinct lines of evidence, because of a single doubt.

Let us first examine the doubt itself, and see if it can be interpreted to support the hypothesis. The conscious attitude is one of horror. But the daydream, the symptom and the dream alike prove that falling possesses significance. Is there anything whatsoever in the life of the child, any single happening, that has made falling in itself something that is at the same time significant and terrible? The boy, questioned on this point in terms that were intelligible to him, could suggest nothing.

At this point the mother was asked directly, "Can you remember an occasion, very early in B——'s life, when he had a fall?" Without any hesitation she told the following story:—

At the time when B—— first began to walk a little, she took him down into the kitchen and left him with the maid. His father, who is a dentist, had experienced a rush of work that had made it necessary for him to ask his wife to go out and cancel an appointment that he had made with a patient for that afternoon.

The kitchen was a very large room, that was used as a workroom by the dental mechanics and as a kitchen as well. The maid put the child in

a chair and went on with her work. The child got out of the chair and made a few steps. Then he fell, and his head crashed against the heavy iron vulcaniser that stood in the middle of the room. He screamed loudly.

His mother was at this moment on the point of leaving the house by the street door. She rushed back to the kitchen, took the child in her arms, and told the maid to go in her place to cancel the appointment. She did not remove her outdoor clothes, but sat in the kitchen holding the child till he ceased to cry. His forehead was badly bruised.

The boy was in the room whilst his mother was recalling the story. At its close he said, as if making a great effort to remember the events, "I can't remember."

What is of very great significance is that, from the time that this analysis of the dreams was made, up to the last date that his questioner had an opportunity of making inquiries (an interval of nearly a year), there has been no recurrence of the fright-dream of falling or of the bodily symptom of "St. Vitus' Dance." The boy states, too, that the daydreams of falling have gone. These facts suggest that a considerable readjustment has taken place. The nature of adjustment and readjustment must be considered more fully later.

Before passing on to the nature of the conclusions that are to be drawn from the material that

has been examined, it is necessary to draw attention to the mode of examination. It will be observed that the dream has been taken and regarded in precisely the same way that the chemist regards a new piece of chemical material, or the physicist a natural phenomenon. That is to say, the whole procedure has been in accordance with the scientific method, as that method has been developed by thinkers and scientists for many years. The elements of mystery, of dependence upon occult powers or "psychic gifts," have been absent. There has been nothing in common with the methods of the fortune-teller, whether of the caravan or Bond Street species. The modern attitude towards dreams is as strictly scientific as the attitude of the chemist, or physicist, or physiologist, or mathematician towards the material that these specially consider; and the would-be psychanalyst who is seeking for mystery and for something "occult" had much better leave men's minds alone and confine his attention to tea-leaves or cards, where his chances of doing harm will be much less.

Now the incident that has been recalled in the course of the inquiry into the dream under consideration is one that links together the mother and falling. The fall was a consequence of independent assertion on the part of the child. It was painful, *but it brought back the mother, and fixed her attention upon himself*. For a time the

child monopolised the mother entirely. Now, in his conscious attitude, he fears being left alone, but longs for his mother's return. But on a previous occasion a fall has brought his mother back to him. Therefore we discover here a motive for falling. But the fall hurt him badly, and injured him. Here is a motive for not falling. We have therefore a mind torn between two motives. And we have, as a result, the presence in consciousness of the idea of the mother and of the idea of falling, with the effect of distress or fear.

The attitude that has been revealed is that of dependence. There is a fear of the real world, a fear of standing alone, a wish to remain dependent upon his mother, who described her son as a "mother's boy."

A man cannot go through the world successfully as a mother's boy, though many thousands are trying. Dependence may become transferred to some one who takes the place of the mother, to an older woman or to a wife. Traces of this are to be discovered in the way in which some men call their wives "mother"; and the older dependence is shown in the way in which many men hold up their mothers as examples for their wives, and suggest that the latter should endeavour to become like the former. Again, a London firm of caterers makes the appeal (since they have continued to use it as a slogan for so many years, it

is only reasonable to suppose that they have found it profitable), "A Cup of Tea as Mother Makes It." Not, you will notice, "A Cup of Tea as Your Wife Makes It." Their appeal is to adult men, of whom one must suppose the majority to be married.

The dream, therefore, linked on to the other evidence that we were able to gather, and to the episode that was recalled in connection with these, has revealed an attitude. The little scene in the kitchen has become for the child a model of all life to be. His own efforts, his own attempts at independence, are things that meet with disaster. The world is cruel and hostile, something that must not be faced, but must be feared. The reaction to fear is flight and concealment.

The child, in his everyday conduct, shows us these tendencies remarkably clearly. He flees to his mother for assistance, protection and shelter; he fears to be left without her. In place of living in outward action, he lives within himself, in his own mind. The daydream becomes a substitute for real life.

The early episode has significance for him, because he was able to judge and value it with the mind of a child of two years of age. It possesses significance when he is ten years old, because it has never been re-judged and re-valued. These are impossible whilst it is buried in the limbo of forgetfulness. The dream has afforded

a clue by which we are able to trace it, and recall it in such a manner that re-judgment and re-valuation become impossible. The dreamer sees that the event has not the significance that he formerly attached to it, and at once its power over his thought and action and feeling have departed. "Falling" used to possess a significance that it possesses no longer.

We have learned from this dream that "falling" did not mean exactly what it is stated to mean in the dictionary, but a great deal more. It had acquired a meaning as a result of experiences and associations that was different from its literal meaning, very much as the cross and the crescent and certain coloured pieces of bunting have done. These things are symbols.

There seems to be a great deal of reason for the belief that the objects that are seen in dreams stand as symbols for something different from themselves, for something which, as a result of the experience of the dreamer or of his race, has come to be associated with the symbol.

It is this matter of symbolism in the dream that has given the greatest difficulty to those who are prepared to consider the modern theories. In the first place, why should symbols appear at all, in place of a plain statement of facts? And further, are we not, in admitting that symbolic values have to be assigned to the objects that appear in dreams, joining hands with all the

people who pretend to interpret dreams—mystery-mongers and charlatans—and endorsing their methods?

These two questions open up very wide issues, which are still being hotly discussed. The second will be dealt with at once, and the first in due course.

It is possible to buy, at varying prices, "Dream-books" from newsagents and booksellers. There is little difference, except in bulk, between a cheap one and an expensive one. The dream-book is arranged like a dictionary, and opposite each word is given its alleged meaning. Thus, if I dream that I see a duck with a rope round its neck, it is necessary to search out the meanings assigned to duck, to rope, and to neck, and to combine these into a whole. Thus, I find, in a penny dream-book that I happen to have by me, that to dream of ducks means "increased prosperity and happiness"; of a rope, "money troubles"; and of a neck, "power, honour, wealth, a legacy." It is a little difficult to know how to combine all these together. Perhaps "at the moment money troubles stand in the way of honour and power, but increased prosperity and happiness will follow," will meet the case; it will at all events satisfy a number of people, and will convince them that the penny has not been spent in vain.

The dream-book has, however, something in

common with the view that we have been led to take of the subjects of the dream. It asserts that these are to be read as symbols. But the dream-book asserts that there is a definite equivalent for each symbol that appears, and that this is the same no matter what the occasion of the dream, or who the dreamer. This cannot be assumed, and there is a great deal of experience that goes to show that it is not true. But there are, nevertheless, a few symbols that are fairly definite in their meaning, and that seem to possess very nearly the same meaning in the majority of dreams—such, for instance, as a king, who generally signifies the father of the dreamer. But this knowledge does not enable us to say that beyond all doubt the person who has dreamed of a king has been dreaming of his father; it merely suggests that this is probable. We can hope to discover this with certainty only after a close and careful examination of the dream and a questioning of the dreamer. We have to discover why the father appears as a king, and a great many other things, before we can find the meaning of and the reason for the dream. In other words, our knowledge, derived from experience and not from superstition, of what the symbol *may* mean, is nothing more than a faint clue: it is by no means a solution.

Before the point can be pursued of why symbols should appear at all, it will be necessary to examine

another dream, in connection with which we possess more knowledge of the circumstances under which it was dreamed. I take, from a very great number that I have by me, together with the dreamers' notes on them, the following (the first person is used, since the account is in the dreamer's own words):—

Case XIII. I was in a small square church of brick, which recalls in some ways St.——'s Church, L——. I am sitting with a number of other men at the back. The church seems, with the exception of ourselves, to be empty. A man, in grey tweed clothes, is preaching.

I believe we knew that the king would come, even before he came. At all events he entered from the left, and passed in front of us. As he entered, I rose to my feet. The preacher shouted, "Wait till you get the order." He spoke with a great deal of irritation, giving me the impression that I had unwittingly spoiled the effect that he wished to produce, and that I had, in some way, "let down," not only the preacher, but also my college.

Afterwards, I am outside the church, where I apologise to the preacher. He says at once that it does not matter, and that I am not to worry about it. We are looking at a brick building that reminds me of Keble College, but we speak of it as Buckingham Palace. I insist, however,

that it is not Buckingham Palace; but that Buckingham Palace lies to the right. The church, I say, lies between the building that we are looking at and the Palace. But it is certain that the king entered the building at which we are looking. We discuss the question as to how he could have passed from the one building to the other, since he is now in the Palace.

In a later dream of the same night, I am at the bedside of my father, who appears to be ill. He still takes a great deal of interest in things. I am able to tell him that Lloyd George has been elected as leader by the "big ten" (for the "big twelve"). This apparently means that a period of indecision has been brought to an end. It seems to me that we talk rather contemptuously of the "big." Since everything nowadays is "big," and there is nothing that is not "big," nothing is "big." My father seems less contemptuous than myself, or at least expresses himself less vigorously.

Asked to recall some of the events of the day of the dream and the preceding day, the dreamer states:—

I had been to W——'s rooms on the evening of the day before the dream. He has been a clergyman, but is very unorthodox. He does not dress in clerical costume at all, but wears a

tweed suit. He had been talking a good deal to me about my "cynical" attitude. I had mildly resented his tone, since he was "preaching" a good deal, I thought.

I had asked a man that day if he had met —— of Keble, since the two men have a common interest in æsthetic subjects.

On the day before the dream some men had been discussing architecture, and the names of Wren and of Inigo Jones had been mentioned. Buckingham Palace had been spoken of, and discussed as a frankly ugly place. Keble College had also been mentioned as an instance of an attempt to realise in brick a style that is not suited to brick. Some one had argued that the one religious style that is adapted for brick is the Byzantine. The best example that I know is the church of which I dreamed. I remember that the church is rather near my home, and that the service there is of an advanced ritualistic type. My parents were strict nonconformists, and I was not allowed to go to church. My parents thought that the church was "wrong," and that the church of the dream was particularly so. I remember that I had an intense desire to visit it, and I did so frequently, but secretly. The vicars (I remember two) used to take a part in social work, since the parish was partly a slum district. W——, too, is a social worker.

The figure in the pulpit is not entirely that of W——, though he is very much like him. He recalls a rather tall, fair man whose name I do not know. The day before the day of the dream I had been sitting in the balcony of a café, smoking a pipe. I leaned over to see if there were men below with whom I was acquainted and dropped some tobacco on to a table below, at which this man was seated. He thought that I had done it as a joke, and looked up and laughed and shook his fist at me. But I am not in the habit of dropping tobacco on tea-tables, even as a joke; and so I apologised to him as I was leaving the café. He said, "That's all right, old chap. Don't you worry about that": practically the same words as the preacher used to me.

I have speculated a little of late about the man of whom I have been speaking. He has evidently been in the Army, and has not yet lost some of the affectations of the Army officer. The Army has been discussed a little during the last day or two, in view of the decision to restore the pre-war uniforms. The majority of regular soldiers whom I knew in the Army professed themselves as being glad to be away from these, but I always felt that they had a hankering for the clothes that distinguished them from other men and from other soldiers. They were, in any case, proud of their divisional badges and other distinguishing marks.

"Letting down" reminds me that I have in the last few weeks been pondering the question of my future. There are some people, one person in particular, who have a right to expect things from me. If I do what I want to do, I shall "let them down." I have always been averse to letting people down. In the Army, much as I detested the kind of officer with whom I came into contact, and much as I should have served my own ends by letting them down badly, I was very scrupulous about this point. I cannot give any reason, and the conduct does not appear to me to be based on any conscious principle.

"Wait till you get the order." I cannot remember hearing these words recently, but it is very possible that I may have done so, since Army phrases are pretty generally heard just now. (The reference is to June, 1920.) Generally in the Army this was the preface to a good deal of hanging about, while some ass or other found out what he had to do. I remember when we went out on a draft we had to wait two days at one place, nearly a week at another, and two days at a third, because instructions had not been forwarded as to what the draft was for, or where it had to go. Three hundred and fifty men had to hang about until the War Office's intentions could be discovered. Muddles seemed, too, to be the rule at Aldershot. Orders seemed

to me most out of place in a religious service, and a parade service always seemed to me comic. The chaplain was an odd mixture of officer and clergyman, and the service was an odd mixture of service and parade. I always wanted to laugh when the orders were intruded. I never could regard an Army service, even just behind the trenches, as a serious thing.

Lloyd George's name has come up in discussion several times in the last few days. I had been talking of him with W——. I have insisted that men like Disraeli and Lloyd George who rise by their own efforts, have to do a great many things in the way of "advertisement" that men who have influence and birth and money behind them need not do. It is this to which their opponents object. W—— does not agree. He believes that merit succeeds. I agree,—if it is sufficiently well advertised and displayed. It was in connection with this that he charged me with being "cynical."

There is no need to quote these associations at greater length, nor to attempt a full interpretation of this dream. So soon as we begin to question the dreamer about his dream, part by part, we discover that it has been made up, in great measure, of *experiences gathered from the happenings of the dream-day or the day preceding the dream-day.* The experiences that

have been selected are only a few out of many hundreds available, and they have been arranged and connected together in much the same way as a play or a story is composed of a number of incidents. To many people, such a fact would seem to account completely for dreams, and would be regarded as proof that dreams possessed neither significance nor meaning. But such people have not realised the nature of the problems presented. If material is selected from a great mass that is available, and if it is arranged in a certain way, then there must be reasons why this material, and no other, was selected; and why this arrangement, and no other, was chosen. The modern psychologist holds that such reasons can be discovered—that the dreamer is under compulsion to select and arrange in certain ways, and that the nature of this compulsion is discoverable from his dreams.

In succeeding chapters the nature of the compulsion will be discussed. For the present it is necessary to recognise that the material that is chosen is chosen because it stands for something of significance to the dreamer, and is arranged to form a whole that is also of significance to him. But here we meet with a paradoxical situation, since he is unable to understand it. Even the expert psychanalyst is unable to penetrate very far into the meaning of his own dreams, and must ask the assistance of another.

We must recognise, too, that the selection of the material is seldom one that we should consciously make. The dream seems to select incidents that we should regard as trivial. It may pass over money transactions, momentous occasions, and happenings of real importance, and utilise the face of a man who sat opposite me in the train, or an advertisement that I can only recall seeing with a great effort of memory. The composition itself, also, is something that seems to be alien from anything that the dreamer does consciously. The business man, who regards romance as merely silly, and who prides himself on an entire lack of imagination, yet romances in his dreams. The skilled novelist dreams what seems to be the most muddled rubbish. These are some of the considerations that have led men, in all ages, to regard dreams as too absurd for serious consideration, or as motivated from some source altogether outside man. But it is in these considerations that modern psychology seeks for clues that will give us the explanation. We shall not seek for an explanation outside the dreamer until we are compelled to do so, since we do not by such assumptions explain (in the scientific sense of the word) anything. We merely refer what is not understood to what is even less understood.

But it seems clear, at this stage, that we must believe, if we are to seek an explanation of the

dream in the dreamer's own mind—that we must believe that his consciousness, as he knows it, is not the whole of his mind. That there is another region, apparently independent of consciousness, that selects the materials of the dream, and that weaves them together, in a manner akin to the mode of the dramatist, to form the dream.

CHAPTER VI

WORD ASSOCIATIONS

THERE are few people who have not, at one time or another, speculated as to the source of an idea present in the mind, and amused themselves in trying to trace backwards a whole series of antecedent ideas. The succession of these is occasionally surprising, but generally follows a rational order.

Suppose, for the sake of example, that a man, on hearing the word "flower," or after thinking of flowers, finds that ideas occur to him in the following order: Flowers, roses, rose-gardens, Saadi, Omar Khayyam. It is possible to discover a rational connection between each of these ideas and that which precedes it. Rose is a member of the larger group signified by flowers; experience leads us to seek roses in rose-gardens; the "Rose Garden," or "Gulistan," is a Persian poem, written by a very well-known poet, Saadi; Omar Khayyam comes into the mind with Saadi, since both are Persian poets who have been translated and are widely read by British readers.

It is a very common experience that, when the mind wanders, a sequence of ideas seems to pass through it. No single idea receives any prolonged attention, unless it is an important part of one of the daydreams of which mention has been made. Before many moments have elapsed, the thoughts have strayed very far from the point at which they were just before the wandering began. The example given previously, which began with flowers and ended with Omar Khayyam, does not show the apparent lack of connection between the first and last numbers of a sequence so well as does the following: Flowers, roses, garlands, crown, royal person, king, revolution, wheel, circle, pi, 3·14159 . . ., etc. Here we are again able to trace a rational connection between each member of the series and that immediately preceding it, but no such immediate connection is obvious between the first member and the last. However, if we are given two words, however unconnected they may appear to be, it is generally quite easy to interpose a number of words that shall make a series of the kind that we have been considering, and of which one of the words is the first member, and the other the last. Thus, to link up the two words "cow" and "eggs," the interposition of the word "dairy" is sufficient. Cows and dairies are linked together in experience, as are dairies and eggs.

We find, then, that ideas appear in our minds, as a rule, in an ordered sequence, which is determined by the mode of thought which we adopt. This is not very clear until it is remembered that logical thought is merely one of many possible modes, and that a very great proportion of the thought of children and savages follows a different mode altogether. If it were possible to get a number of people, ranging from young children to adults, and from primitive savages to distinguished men of science and of letters, and to ask these to write down a sequence of twenty words representing the ideas that had come into consciousness, following the mention of the word "flower," we should find great differences. We should find differences, not so marked, perhaps, if we asked the whole of the children of an ordinary class to undertake a similar task. In spite of these differences, psychologists have been able to formulate "Laws of Association," which merely state the ways in which linkages between ideas appear to be formed. But the important thing about these laws, that is relevant to the purpose of this chapter, is that the connections are the result of our experiences and the ways in which we have thought about them. It is possible, for instance, to imagine a savage who would think of "god" and "darkness" as consecutive members of a series, and to find a European who would think of "god" and

"light" in close association. The former has brought together two things that he fears in much the same way, whilst the latter has been influenced by experiences of a different sort, or by acceptance of a belief.

Although there is reason to believe that there exists this close connection between sequent ideas, it is not always easy to discover it. We are often puzzled to account for the presence of an idea in our minds, and can find nothing to account for it in our current experience or in the thoughts we were considering immediately beforehand. As a rule, however, the connection can be traced, and a failure is to be regarded as something a little out of the common run of our normal mental life. But we have to believe that this exception is only apparent. If, for example, the sound of a certain name fills a man with a horror for which he cannot account, we have to believe that there nevertheless exists a reason for the association of this name with other things which he dreads, and that there must be actual or possible means of discovering it.

The experiment has been made of giving to a subject, one at a time, a large number of words. He is instructed that he is, after hearing the word (which is called the "stimulus"), to call out the first word that comes to his mind, immediately it comes, regardless of whether it may seem to him stupid or irrelevant. Should

the word appear to have more than one meaning, he is to take the meaning that first occurs to him. Above all, he is not to try to think.

The following is part of a list of stimulus words, with the responses obtained from a school-girl of about twelve years of age:—

Yellow	colour
Sea	drowning
Man	person
Bright	gold
Round	circle
Feet	long
Eyes	two
Sail	ship
Father	grown-up
Dug	ground
Fall	hurt
School	teach
Hurt	kill
Nothing	hole
Drown	dead

At first sight, there is little that is remarkable about these responses. There seems to be a reasonable connection between each stimulus word and that which it evokes. Some of the responses seem a little morbid—ideas of drowning and death and killing ought not, one would be inclined to say, to occur so frequently in the mind of a child.

In practice, a further complication is introduced into the experiment. The time that elapses between the calling out of the stimulus word by the experimenter and the giving of the response by the subject, is noted. Since the time is small, the unit chosen is generally one-fifth of a second. The list already given is therefore repeated below. The numbers placed after the stimulus word represent this "reaction time" in fifths of seconds.

Yellow	5	colour
Sea	8	drowning
Man	5	person
Bright	13	gold
Round	9	circle
Feet	9	long
Eyes	9	two
Sail	5	ship
Father	19	grown-up
Dug	9	ground
Fall	9	hurt
School	9	teach
Hurt	19	kill
Nothing	9	hole
Drown	13	dead

We have here fifteen numbers, ranging from 5 to 19. The longest reaction time in this series is thus four times the shortest. It is interesting

to arrange these numbers, for purposes of comparison, thus:—

Reaction time	*Frequency of occurrence*
5	3
8	1
9	7
13	2
19	2

Thus, one-half of the responses were given after an interval of eight-fifths to nine-fifths of a second. One-fifth were given after a much smaller interval, whilst about one-fourth were given at the end of a considerably greater interval. Eight to nine units, therefore, is to be taken as this subject's "mean" or "normal" reaction time. It is to be noted that this mean differs considerably with different subjects, and probably depends upon the physiological mechanism that has to be brought into play. It is important, in consequence, to use a very long list of words (one hundred is the ordinary number), so that we have a means of discovering from them what the subject's normal reaction time should be.

We have to regard the low and the high numbers as indications of a departure from the normal. These are:—

Yellow	5	colour
Man	5	person

Sail	5	ship
Bright	13	gold
Drown	13	dead
Father	19	grown-up
Hurt	19	kill

It will be noticed that of the responses that we were inclined to regard as morbid, two were given at the end of a delay. Otherwise, it would appear that the tabulation of reactions, as set out above, has brought to light nothing that is extraordinary.

The experiment is complicated in yet another way. After the subject has responded to the whole of the stimulus words, they are again called out to him, and he is asked to repeat the responses that he has already made. Generally, he smiles and says that it is obviously impossible for him to recall a hundred responses that he has made at random. In practice, however, he is successful, as a rule, in recalling the majority without difficulty. The portion of the list that has already been given is repeated below, with the addition of the "reproduction."

Yellow	5	colour	colour
Sea	8	drowning	drowning
Man	5	person	grown-up
Bright	13	gold	gold
Round	9	circle	circle

Feet	9	long	long
Eyes	9	two	two
Sail	5	ship	ship
Father	19	grown-up	man
Dug	9	ground	ground
Fall	9	hurt	hurt
School	9	teach	learn
Hurt	19	kill	nasty
Nothing	9	hole	horrible
Drown	13	dead	sea

Of fifteen reproductions, therefore, nine are correct and six are incorrect. Of the incorrect, one is found where there was a quick response, two where the response was normal and three where it was delayed. In other words, we have a false reproduction following 33.3 per cent. of the quick reactions, 25 per cent. of the normal reactions, and 75 per cent. of the delayed reactions. Here is direct quantitative evidence of the existence of something alien from the subject's own conscious life. Exactly what this is, we cannot yet deduce from the experiment. The whole function of the association experiment is to put the analyst on the track of what is wrong, so that he may follow up these clues by other methods. In the case before us, special attention would be paid, therefore, to the significance of the words "father," "hurt" and "drown" for the subject.

What is also of interest and importance is the subject's manner of making the response. Sometimes, for instance, he will make gestures in the air with a finger, and say: "You know, I know what it is that I want to say, but I can't say it." Or he will say, "Nothing comes. My mind is a complete blank." Or he will comment upon the response, "That's an extraordinary word." These things all call for remark. They are generally to be found associated with delayed reaction times and false reproductions.

Occasionally the stimulus word is mistaken. The experimenter calls out "sea," and the subject replies with "cup." Later, when an inquiry is made about so strange a response, we are told, "I thought you said 'tea.'" This may be a perfectly legitimate error, and nothing more. But it is to be remembered that the subject is undergoing a test, that he has been asked to attend as closely as possible, and that it is not likely that he will confuse the sounds of "s" and "t" unless his attention has relaxed very considerably. In any case, further inquiry is warranted.

Very often, after the subject has responded to a number of words, he asks the experimenter, "Do you want the first word that comes into my head?" This interruption of the whole experiment at this point seems strange, for one would have imagined that, after so much experience,

the subject would be confident that he had realised exactly what the instructions were.

Again, when the experimenter calls out a stimulus word, the subject repeats it, sometimes again and again, before giving the response: thus, "sea . . . sea . . . sea . . . mast." Or at other times there is a good deal of stammering, or blinking, or fidgeting of the body or of the fingers, or blushing (that is not accounted for by either the nature of the stimulus given or the response evoked). These are signs which an experimenter learns to recognise and to interpret, as a result of experience. It can only be misleading to make a brief statement of what these signs may indicate, for such a statement can mean very little to any one who has not experimented sufficiently to make the allowances that are so necessary in individual cases.

We find, then, that as a result of an association test of a subject, we shall discover, in the case of a number of words, some or all of the following:—

(1) Considerably delayed reaction times.

(2) False reproductions.

(3) Failure to hear at all, or to hear correctly, the stimulus word.

(4) Comment upon the nature of the response or the reproduction.

(5) Complete inability to respond at all.

(6) Inability to understand the instructions that have been given.

It is usual to make further inquiry of the subject in reference to these words, generally by the method of "free association."

The subject sits or lounges comfortably in a room where there are few things to attract his attention. The experimenter sits at a little distance from him, in such a position that he can see the subject very well, though he is not forced upon the latter's attention. The subject is asked to allow his mind to remain as passive as possible. He is instructed to make no attempt to think logically, but to permit his mind to "drift," and to say aloud whatever comes to his mind. At first, this is by no means easy.

Here is an example of the kind of thing which may be expected from a good subject. It is a transcript of the "free associations" of a man of about thirty years of age.

"Sea . . . I used to bathe in the sea a good deal. . . . I used to go with a friend of mine, who was about two years older. . . . He was a good-looking chap, a good deal inferior to myself so far as school work was concerned, but taller, better dressed, and with a good deal more pocket money. I never had much pocket money. . . . I don't mean that my people stinted me. . . . They were as good to me as

they could afford to be, but they were frightfully poor. . . . I rather used to envy X., since he could always buy things that really I suppose that I didn't want very much, but the fact that he could get them and I couldn't gave them a false importance in my eyes. These things have not, after all, helped him a great deal, since he occupies a very minor sort of place in life at the moment and has done for some years. I don't suppose that he ever will do better.

"Sea . . . sailors . . . very deft and handy men. I have often wondered how those chaps manage to do the things they do up aloft. Personally, heights make me dizzy. . . . I don't know why. . . . I have tested myself in all sorts of ways, to see if I could conquer the feeling. You know, there are ways in which I am afraid of heights and ways in which I am not afraid of them. I hate looking down. But if I had a comfortable seat on the top of a church tower, and could sit there and look round and sketch or read, I shouldn't fear it in the least. I am afraid of slipping . . . heights . . . big positions . . . my attitude towards those is that I do not take them on—willingly doesn't quite express what I mean—but I don't rush at them. If one is given to me, then I take it and carry on. I can get on quite well, provided all sorts of people don't ask me to co-operate with them, or worry me to let them co-operate with me. I

want to get to look at the thing first, to see it in all its bearings, and then to ask people to help me in the directions where they are more capable than myself. But it is important first to get the thing properly analysed and set out. . . . I notice that I have got from 'sea' to 'see.' Punning used to be a habit of mine. Thank Heaven, I've got over it. But I remember just now a schoolboy tag that ran: 'I went to sea to see what I could see, don't you see?' I don't know why I should remember it, or where I heard it. . . . But I do like to be on the open sea, where one gets wide horizons. It is the same on the hills or in the desert. To look round you and see a wide immensity, bounded by the place where the sea and the sky seem to meet is fine. I remember—I must have been eight years of age at the time—a geography definition that I had to learn by heart—'The horizon is where the land and the sky appear to meet.' I'm not sure that those were the precise words. But I used to love those geography definitions. I used to imagine them, and I suppose that, in some ways, when I was a kid of eight, I had made a world of my own, out of imagination and definitions. It wasn't all quite right, as experience has proved since. . . . And I remember a wretched piece of doggerel that attracted me immensely a little earlier about 'where the feathery palm-trees rise' . . . and I found

Cook's Voyages very tiresome and puzzling, but there were very jolly bits in them. I wanted to see the whole world . . . no special parts at first, so far as I can remember. But later, the West Coast of Africa, where I was told no white man could live. You see, I was quite sure that I could live there.

"But the sea in itself is very fascinating. I don't mean that I wanted to run away and be a sailor, for I don't think I ever did. But to lie on the sand in the warm dusk of a September night, and listen to the sound of the water when the tide was full. Tennyson's line got me at once, the first time I heard it:—

> "Such a tide as seems
> Too full for sound or foam."

"The idea of men who loved the sea took hold of me. I used to lie on the sand, I remember, and think of the voice of a woman calling to a lover. . . . And I used to reflect that, after all, she would only drown him. That the sea was fascinating and seductive, but treacherous. . . . I suppose that I had heard somewhere of the legend of the sirens. . . . At all events, it fitted in with the conception of women that I had gathered from fiction, I suppose."

It is unnecessary to give further extracts from this series of free associations. But we have

found that, in the particular subject referred to, associations with the word "sea" lead up to his attitude towards life in general, towards money, heights, responsibility, co-operation, "seeing (*i.e.* understanding) things," women, etc. These associations carry him back to childhood, and partly reveal the way in which his present attitude merely continues, or in some cases has been evolved from, the attitudes of his earlier years.

But this is the kind of material that was presented to us as a result of our analyses of the dream and the daydream, and of the study of play. The list of responses and reaction times and reproductions to our stimulus words is therefore an individual psychological document that is comparable, because of the inferences that we are able to draw from it in reference to the individual, to the other documents that we have considered. It is a little more cumbrous to handle than a dream, but it is extremely valuable in cases where we are dealing with a subject who is unable to recall dreams, and still more valuable as a means of checking the conclusions to which the dream leads us.

The association test may be used to assist in making clear the significance of the objects that appear in the dream, in the following way. In the dream quoted as Case XI (see Chapter IV) these objects occur: bathroom, mother, men,

window, burglars. "Looking" seems to be important, and also "rough." These words might therefore all be used to make up part of an association test. One might add the names of some of the prominent things that would be found in a bathroom, words that seem to have a connection with burglars, such as "steal" and "rob," and then make up the whole to a hundred words or so by the use of quite common words. It is advisable that the words used in the test should be monosyllabic, or at least very short, and that nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs should all be presented. It is from the common words that we shall be able to discover the subject's mean reaction time, that will inform us as to whether there are delayed associations in connection with the words that may have significance for the dreamer.

Here is a method, therefore, which can be used in connection with the dream for discovering something, something that is deeper in the mind of the subject than are the ordinary thoughts of which he is aware. The precise nature of what is discovered will be discussed later, when we pass on to speak of the nature of the conclusions that we are to draw about mind from the evidence of the dream and the daydream.

CHAPTER VII

INTEREST

It has been recognised for many years that the question of interest is one that is of great importance for the teacher. It is a commonplace that children will work well at things that interest them, and very badly at things which have no interest. Consequently, one of the practical problems of the classroom has been the giving of interest to the material that is presented for study. All kinds of teaching devices have been invented for this purpose.

The student of psychanalysis finds himself, at a very early stage of his studies, confronted with this problem of interest. He finds that the dreams of his subjects present evidence that a number of things, whose very existence had been forgotten, were yet recalled in dreams. Thus, a man dreams of an organ, and then recalls that on the night before the dream the 'bus on which he was riding had passed a music-hall poster which announced that a certain artiste would perform on a large pipe-organ. The man in

question was on his way to an important meeting, after which he was to dine in a restaurant, after which again he was to meet some interesting people. But it was not of the dinner or the meeting or the people that he dreamed, though he was thinking most of these when he passed the music-hall poster. He is not a musician, nor is he interested greatly in organs. Yet that part of him which dreams had selected from a whole mass of material that one detail for representation.

This selection is characteristic of interest. If we ask a number of children to write a list of the things that they have seen in the window of a shop which they often pass, we find that the lists differ considerably. A girl's list would differ from a boy's as a rule; and that of a child in the infants' department from that of another in one of the upper standards. If, again, we ask a number of young children to draw a bicycle, it is easy to see what interests them from what they include in their drawings. Very few will omit the lamp and bell, though a great many will not include the spokes of the wheels. If children are asked to write a piece of composition about a shop, choosing any kind of shop they care to describe, they will select that one which interests them most. There will be more written about toy- and sweet-shops than about drapery or grocery stores.

There is a story told of the composer Batiste that serves to illustrate this point. He was early in life employed as a scullion, and it is said that he discovered that each of the vessels that it was his duty to scour possessed a musical tone of its own. Soon he had arranged them in a scale, and was able to play compositions of his own upon them. The chef was annoyed, since he regarded the vessels from another point of view, cooking being his one interest in life. But Batiste, whose one interest was music, had discovered and selected the musical possibilities of the kitchen. In the same way, we hear of Handel, as a child, discovering that there was, in a garret of his father's house, an old harpsichord, and stealing upstairs to play it softly, when he thought that the other members of the family were sleeping. It is not only from music that the point in question must be illustrated. Huysmans, engaged in a wine merchant's office, found charm in the names of the wines, and later used them to build up the curious verbal symphonies which appear in his works. But these men were doing merely what we are all doing every day as a result of our interests. We are emphasising some aspects of the world about us and ignoring others.

In some ways, interest resembles a powerful searchlight, that reveals some objects with a great intensity, whilst it leaves others in obscurity.

Interest is usually regarded as being of two kinds, voluntary or involuntary, according as we wish to pay attention to the things that interest us at the time, or otherwise. My interest in books, money, my work, etc., is voluntary, but my interest in piano-organs that make a noise beneath my window when I want to read, is involuntary. I attend to the piano-organ, or to a blazing light, or to a sudden pain, because I cannot help doing so.

But the interest that is discussed in text-books of psychology is the interest that compels an attention of which we are aware. It is defined as a "consciousness of value." The consciousness is important. The whole definition means that interest is an awareness, a knowledge on our own part, that the things in question have value for us, either directly as ends in themselves, or indirectly as connected with ends which we desire.

The dream has made us aware that interest must mean more than this. It shows that we are interested in things to which we do not pay attention at all, in things from which we turn away after a casual glance. If I were asked, an hour after I left the 'bus, to describe the man who sat opposite me, it is more than possible I should have to say, "I cannot do it. I did not notice him." But, nevertheless, he seems to appear, and to appear with a great deal of detail, in my dream. When I see him, and reflect a

little, I am able to say, "That is the man who sat opposite me in the 'bus."

Why has any part of me paid such attention to the man in the 'bus? We cannot give the whole answer, in all probability, but it would seem as if at least a part of the purpose was to use him in a dream. We are reminded of Leonardo da Vinci, scanning curiously the faces of the people in the streets, that he might use them in his pictures. But when we have said so much, we have said little enough of the purpose of Leonardo, which is really, one would suppose, to be found behind his pictures, expressing itself in them. And if we say, too, that some part of us is interested in many things, in order that it may make dreams of them, we shall fall short of discovering its real purpose. The object of the dream, as it appeared from the partial study made of them in Chapter IV, was to gratify an instinctive wish—to represent that wish as fulfilled. So that it would seem that the selection of objects for recollection, apart from our will and our knowledge, outside the realm of what we term our "interests," goes on in order that our unfulfilled wishes may be fulfilled through dreams. The conclusion seems extraordinary, but must not be rejected on that account. It must be rejected only if the reasoning is found to be faulty, or if the facts upon which that reasoning is based are regarded as not facts at all.

Such a conception as this seems to suggest that most of us are at least two, rather than one. One part of us goes through the day, attending to things that are of interest—doing, thinking and remembering. At the same time it would seem that another part of us is attending to quite different things, and storing up memories of them in some inaccessible region of the mind, whence they are produced at such times as the "conscious" part of the mind is sleeping and inactive. Then it is we dream, and our dreams are often totally different from our activities of the day. This theory has something in common with the story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, though we do not postulate the goodness of the one and the badness of the other. We go through our waking life as one person, and another person lives while we sleep.

It is not necessary to accept this last statement too literally, but we have already discovered a great deal of evidence for believing that mind extends a great way beyond consciousness. It used to be the custom to speak of the region that lies outside consciousness as the "subconscious," but the term is now generally discarded. It implies that it exists in a subordinate capacity, and this is by no means the case. It is now more usual to speak of three regions of the mind: the "conscious mind," which is the mind with its contents of which I am aware at the present

moment; the "fore-conscious mind," which includes the contents which have at one time or other been conscious, and which may be made conscious again at will, through an effort of memory; and the "unconscious mind," of whose contents I cannot become aware unless through an analysis made by somebody else. We are very far from knowing the whole of the contents of the unconscious mind, and what knowledge we have has come through the study of dreams and fantasies, through association tests, through the study of hypnotism, and as a result of the study of myths and literary products. But it would seem that all that is or ever has been in the individual consciousness is still in the mind, from which it follows that the "conscious mind" must be a very small part indeed of the whole. An iceberg has often been used as an illustration, the small visible portion representing the "conscious mind," and the submerged portion the "fore-conscious mind" and the "unconscious mind."

Very few men are placed in the position of being able to satisfy all their desires. The majority have to serve in some subordinate capacity. The children in our schools are similarly placed. Men say that they "like work" and children say that they "like school." Both statements are partly true. There is nevertheless considerably less excitement about the return to school after

holidays than there was about the breaking up. Few workmen continue working after some one has left them sufficient money for them to live comfortably without further labour. Though school and work may be regarded without any strong feelings of hostility, neither affords, as a rule, any opportunity of complete living. The workman has to put off till the evening or till the Saturday or the Sunday many of the things that he wishes to do, and the child has to plan for the holidays. There are things that the workman may not do because he is in a subordinate capacity, or because he is not wealthy. The child wishes for things which he may not have, because his parents withhold their consent. He wishes, too, for things that he must not wish.

One of the things for which nearly every child has wished is the death of one or other of his parents. This sounds very dreadful until we attempt to realise what death means to a child. Children talk very cheerfully about death. One little girl I know has formulated the theory that people are put into the ground to wait to be turned into birds, and that birds are dead people who have come back again. How she arrived at this conception none of the people who have charge of her has the least idea. Holt speaks of a little boy who said to his mother, "I know father's dead, but I do not understand why he doesn't come home to breakfast." In the hero legends

of primitive peoples the hero's death is often represented as a going away that will be followed by a return. The dead return in some way or other in most primitive systems of belief, so that the child, in relating death to a departure, is merely recapitulating a primitive mode of thought.

We are at first inclined to feel repelled at the idea that the child wishes or has wished for the death of one of its parents, because we do not sufficiently realise that the young child's mode of thought is different from our own. We are here repeating the error that many people have made when arriving at an estimate of savages, in complete forgetfulness of the fact that the savage has his own way of looking at the practice that the observer finds repugnant to him. If the child knew what an adult man knows of death, and had the child the adult's conception of morality and of filial duty, it would be a horrible thing if he should wish the death of a parent. But the child does not understand death as we understand it, and he has, from our point of view, no morality at all. Consequently all grounds for regarding the wish as horrible are removed.

The desire to kill, the wish for death, are manifestations of the combative impulse. This impulse comes into operation when another is thwarted. The child sees the flame, and wishes to take it in his hand, to possess it. His father or mother intervenes. The child is angry. If he cannot

speak, he struggles furiously and tries to strike the person who is holding him back. If older, he says that when the other is not there, he will touch the flame. The wish for death is expressed, as a rule, as the wish for absence, though occasionally children are more explicit. I have known of a boy saying, "Mother, I wish father would never come home again." The wish is transient, as a rule, and a little while after it is expressed the child is showing affection for the parent against whom he expressed such marked hostility a short time earlier.

But in this expression of hostility to a parent we have the beginnings of an attitude towards restraint. Such personages as the teacher, the employer, any person who is in a position of authority which necessitates the imposition of a will other than his own upon the subject, recalls again the combative impulse. Often at such a time the subject dreams that his father is dead. Sometimes he dreams that he is killing his father, but more often that he is present at his father's funeral. If he has heard of the meaning of dreams, as it has been developed in this book, he is at a loss to reconcile his own experience with theory, *since he most emphatically does not wish that his father were dead.* And if he should happen to be an elderly man, whose father is already dead, then he is apt to regard the theory with a certain amount of amusement. But the theory holds

good, even here. The present conflict with authority has recalled that earliest struggle, and the dreamer is represented, through the symbol of the dead father, as triumphing over those who impose their will upon him and restrain him from acting according to his own wishes.

I remember, in this connection, a small girl who had an orphan pointed out to her with the remark, "That little girl hasn't any father or mother." "Hasn't she?" she asked. "And can she do just as she likes?"

Perhaps we may find here the reason for at least a part of the great interest that more fortunate children show in orphans and stories about orphans, which older people often ingenuously fancy arises from moral and philanthropic motives that are quite unknown to the child.

It must be borne in mind that the parent plays two parts at least in the early and formative years of the child's life: sometimes indulging and sometimes repressing. The repression has behind it good reasons that the child cannot understand. If a child is refused a toy, for example, because the toy is too expensive, it is unable, since it knows nothing of the value of money, to see any further reason than an unwillingness to give it the toy in question. It does not believe that there can exist a money difficulty for its parents. It knows nothing of the difficulties that exist in connection with money, of the difficulties in the

way of procuring it, and of the planning that is necessary in connection with the spending of it. It asks, "Will you buy me that toy?" When the reply is in the negative, the child goes on to ask, "Why won't you buy it?" If told that the cost is too great, the child will ask, "How much is it?" "Ten shillings." "That isn't very much money. I know that you've got ten shillings." And if all this persuasion is in vain, the child concludes, and sometimes says, that the parent is "unkind." The remarks quoted here are given, almost verbatim, from the conversation of a girl of four years of age. Any one who is at all familiar with small children could recall a great many instances of similar kind.

Occasionally the child follows up the remark about the parent's unkindness with a statement, "I don't like you," or with one that has a precisely similar meaning. It learns very early in life that it is not wise to express itself openly to this effect, but no amount of repression of frank expression can prevent the thought. A refusal is generally followed by conduct that leaves no doubt in the mind of the observer that the child has been angered: its expressions of affection cool, and its manner becomes aloof or sullen.

On the other hand, indulgence is followed with protests of affection.

The proportion between indulgence and refusal varies as time goes on. In its first year or so of

life the child wants few things, and these are given it so soon as the want is made known. The parent is regarded as primarily, if not wholly, a person who loves and gives. It is later, as the desires extend and include all kinds of wishes that cannot possibly be indulged, that the parent who denies is met with. How is the child to reconcile these antitheses?

Certainly in some cases the effort at reconciliation is not successful. The child appears to imagine that the parents who now deny its wishes are not the parents who till recently gave it all it wished for. These latter have gone away, or are dead, and unkind parents have taken their place. The "Cinderella" story, so popular the world over, either in the form in which we know it, or in one of the many hundreds of variants, is invariably the story of the child whose loving parent is dead, and whose stern step-parent rules her and makes her do the things she dislikes. The older children, who dominate Cinderella, and are the allies of the step-parent, are the children of the latter. This story is so popular with the majority of children because it echoes a belief about themselves that they consciously hold or have held. It expresses the conviction, also, that in the future the past will return, and that Cinderella will again be loved for herself alone, and will be recognised as the superior of the people who now dominate her.

People who admit the attitudes that have been spoken of as occurring in children, will in general be inclined to say that these matter very little, since the children will grow out of them as they become older. Experience, and particularly such experience as has been gathered in the course of psychanalytic investigations, goes to show that this view is not correct. In very many cases this early attitude towards the parent follows the child throughout his school life, into his adult years, and is the cause of a great deal of real and serious trouble. The early relations with the parent, as misunderstood by the child, may prove a handicap to the child throughout life.

Case XIV. A young woman states that she is afraid of the dark. She says that many years ago she used to look under her bed to see if anybody was hidden there. During the war she felt compelled to look under her bed to see if there were Germans or bombs, though she knew that the idea was ridiculous. She is very frightened, when she is ironing at home, to carry the heated iron from the stove to the ironing-table, fearing that she will fall and burn herself. She very much dreads physical pain.

She has the idea that the burglar, who may be hidden under the bed, will murder her. She hardly means by this "kill her completely," but "injure her seriously." If she found a burglar

there, or a German, she would scream. This would call the attention of the household to herself, and bring everybody to her assistance. When she is going alone upstairs in the darkness, she feels that she wants to call for her mother.

If she fell down with the iron she would burn herself. This would mean that she would attract the attention of her mother to herself. Her mother would make a great deal of fuss of her, and would bandage the injured spot.

At this point the subject said, "I have always felt that mother was undemonstrative. I have sometimes doubted whether she loved me at all, and have often wished that she would show it more."

Later, when asked about the other members of the family, the subject stated that she had a brother, younger than herself. "I have always thought that mother made a good deal more fuss over my brother than of me."

Psychanalytic practice has led us to believe that every irrational fear conceals an instinctive wish of some kind that has been repressed. The repression may arise out of circumstances, or it may be imposed by a parent, a teacher, by morality or religion. One is, therefore, inclined immediately to ask, "If the feared conditions were realised, what would be the result?" And so, in the case that has just been quoted, we see

that the fears are an expression—a morbid expression—of the wish to be loved, and to see that love demonstrated unmistakably. But the wish for the love has to be repressed on account of circumstances, since the subject's mother is a woman who is not demonstrative. A condition of affairs has therefore to be realised that will wake the mother into demonstrativeness. This condition can only arise through circumstances of danger and injury to the subject.

But these circumstances are such as would naturally be feared by normal people. Bodily injuries, that threaten life or cause pain, give rise to fears in the subject also.

Thus an extraordinary state of things arises. The woman wishes for things that will call her mother's attention to her, and call forth expressions of love and tenderness. At the same time she fears the things that will produce this effect. She is wishing for things and fearing them at the same time.

The ordinary woman, with the normal person's attitude towards burns and pain, is not afraid to carry a heated iron across a room. She does not think of the likelihood of her falling down and burning herself. She probably takes ordinary precautions and reasonable care, and thinks no more of the matter. But this woman, whose case we are considering, has an interest in burning herself, because through this she will

be able to gratify her longing for demonstrative affection. And because she has an interest, she cannot help thinking about the possibility of burning herself. And since she is a normal person, she cannot help thinking about burning herself without having fear of it at the same moment. We have really come down to the problem of explaining, not why she is afraid of burning herself, because this fear is common to all of us to some extent, but why she cannot help thinking about burning herself at times when she is unlikely to do anything of the sort. We should all be more or less frightened at the discovery of a burglar in our bedrooms, but the majority of us will be content to wait until one is there before we become afraid. We shall not imagine that one is there. We shall reflect that on the whole burglary is rather rare, and the chances against a burglar being concealed underneath the bed are very great indeed. But the woman of whom we are speaking looks there every night. She is interested in burglars because she is desirous of attracting the attention to herself of the other members of the household. In a sense, we are not much exaggerating when we say that there is present a wish for a burglar to be there. She must think of burglars, because their presence would bring her wishes to fulfilment, and she cannot think of them without fear.

We shall find in children that the very common fear of the dark is to be explained in some similar way. It is no explanation to say that the child is "timid," or that the fear is "natural." These ready-made explanations merely mean that the child is afraid of the dark and that most children are afraid of the dark. We have merely stated here what we knew before, in slightly different language. In practice, one child's fear of the dark is found to be different from another child's fear of the dark. It is impossible to give an explanation here that will cover all cases. Psychanalysis emphasises very strongly what every discerning teacher and parent already knows—*that each child is an individual problem.*

The key to the situation, so far as a single master-key can be said to exist, would seem to be the answer to the question: In what way would the realisation of this irrational fear fulfil a wish? The child should be allowed to talk about his fear, what would happen if the feared event occurred, what would follow, and so on. He should not be contradicted or rebuked, suggestions should not be made to him, and very few questions should be put. After a time there will very clearly emerge an indication of a body of wishes and of an attitude towards the self. The wishes and the attitude alike will, as a rule, be found to be connected with the subject's early home circumstances, as he understood them at

the time, and with questions involving love, rivalry, and authority. As a rule, it is possible to discover some early circumstance, some accident or event that has made a deep impression on the conscious mind of the subject at the time, but that has since been forgotten, or is remembered only with difficulty.

Case XV. A woman of about thirty years of age had a morbid horror of cats, somewhat like that of the late Lord Roberts. She could hardly bear to remain in the same room or even the same house as a cat.

She narrated the following dream: "I was standing with something in my hand, which I was holding very tightly. I looked down and to my horror saw that I was holding a kitten, which I had squeezed to death. I was very distressed, because, although I detest cats, I would not willingly hurt one for anything."

The circumstances of her life about the time of the dream were these. She had applied for a post that was higher than the one she was holding. She held a certificate granted by an examining body, which we will call X. She was chosen for an interview, but discovered that the members of the board before whom she appeared were interested in another examining body (which we will call Y) and refused to consider the certificates issued by X.

She applied for a second post, and was again selected for an interview. She discovered, however, that the members of this second board were interested in Y, and refused to recognise the certificates of X. Consequently she declined the interview.

She applied for a third post, and at the same time wrote to the secretary of X, stating her experiences, and saying that X should take measures to see that the holders of its certificates were treated fairly. It was now that she dreamed the dream recorded above.

In reply to a question, she stated that the first thought that came into her mind when she thought of a cat was deceit. Deceit made her think of a girl who had been sent into a room to dust, but who began to read instead of working so soon as she found herself alone. This she admitted was a personal experience. The person who used to send her to dust was her elder sister.

The elder sister dominated her a great deal. She did not resent this very much. What she could not forgive in the elder sister was her favouritism for a younger sister. The latter was very pretty, whereas the subject was considered plain. As a small child she had crooked legs, straight hair, and a cast in one eye. She has grown out of these defects, and now realises their unimportance. But they used to result in a good deal of praise for the younger sister, whilst she

herself was ignored. The younger sister was taken out a good deal more, "shown off," and dressed in a prettier way. She states that the mother and elder sister always used to say that the two girls were dressed and treated alike, but that she was convinced that the younger sister was favoured.

She says that the preference for the younger sister used to make her very miserable. She used to weep about it, and used to feel jealous.

At this point she was asked, "What is the name of your younger sister?"

"Katherine," she replied.

"Used you to call her Katherine?"

"Oh, no, never," said she. "We used always to call her Kitty. . . . *But I never wanted to kill my sister.*"

It is interesting to notice, in this case, that without any suggestion on the part of her interlocutor, the subject suddenly realises that the cat she consciously hates is the sister of whom she used to be so jealous. The vindictive thoughts that were felt in early childhood are repressed so soon as she is able to realise that they are "wicked," and are directed towards a harmless substitute, a cat. The hatred still lives. Only its expression has been repressed.

The occasion of the dream is one that repeats in outward form the circumstances of her early childhood. The candidates who hold the cer-

tificates of Y are unfairly preferred to her. Hence these stand in relation to herself as "Kitty" used to stand to her. Her action in writing to X is designed to enable her to defeat her rivals, as her once-cherished plans against "Kitty" would have enabled her to defeat her sister. Her wish is to be successful against rivals. Hence the dream shows her as crushing a "kitty" to death. . . . The questioning brings into consciousness the repressed attitude towards her sister, whom she has now learned to love. Hence there are in consciousness two opposed judgments, viz.:—

(*a*) I want to kill my sister.

(*b*) I do not want to kill my sister.

Since no normal human being is able to entertain as true at the same time two judgments, one of which is the contradiction of the other, one of the two must be destroyed. In the case in question (*a*) is destroyed, because (*b*) is regarded as true. The pent-up jealousy is released and dissipated, and as a result the fear of cats has completely gone.

If an attitude towards a parent can transfer itself to a cat or a cow, or can express itself in a fear of the dark, or of burning oneself with a hot iron, it is less surprising than it would otherwise be to find it transferred to the teacher or to certain lessons. A result of the practical necessity of teaching boys in large classes is that

the teacher's relation to the pupil is one of authority, which is nowadays less expressed in punishments than in commands and prohibitions. The teacher stands a great deal less for the loving parent than for the repressing and denying parent. The pupil may by now have begun to understand something of the reasons underlying his parent's denial of some of his wishes, but he is, at all events in the course of his early years at school, very far from understanding why he must sit still, remain quiet, and listen to the exposition of a number of subjects that interest him very little. The authority of school has no sort of reason behind it save the will of the teacher—or at least appears to the pupil to have none. The whole reason for the things he has to do is that the teacher wills them, and says that they are to be done. There are three possible attitudes that may be evoked as a response, and all may be seen very clearly in an average class:—

(*a*) The open defiance, which seems to express, "I shall do as I like, not as you like."

(*b*) Sullenness, which seems to say, "If I cannot do as I like, neither will I do as you like."

(*c*) Obedience, which expresses, "If I do as you like, then you will be kind to me and allow me to do as I like."

These are precisely the attitudes that are evoked by the treatment of the child by the

parent, when the latter first begins to discipline the former. They are, so to speak, ready-made before the child comes to school. The more nearly the teacher recalls the parent, the more certain is it that the child will substitute him for the parent, and adopt towards him the attitude that was formerly adopted towards the parent.

The attitude itself is expressive of an interest. Defiance, sullenness, and obedience of a certain kind express the interest of the child in what it "likes"—that is to say, in the instinctive wishes that are not allowed scope in the school, in the same wishes that we have already found fantastically gratified in daydreams. The work of the school is at first interesting only so far as it permits gratifying expression of the child's instinctive wishes.

This is an interest of a very different kind from that which we have spoken of as conscious interest. The child who has decided that he is to be a chemist will devote himself to all kinds of tasks that would otherwise be unattractive, but which he has become convinced will help him towards his end. His interest is here directly connected with a consciousness of value. Many interests in life are to be explained in this way. But it seems impossible wholly to explain an interest in this way. If I find a boy studying geography or foreign coinage because he is interested in

stamps, I still have to ask the question: Why is this boy interested in stamps? Even if he explains to me that he has an uncle who is interested in stamps, there is the further question to be asked: Why has the boy chosen this hobby of an uncle for imitation, rather than another? Or, why should he select the hobby of this particular man, rather than that of another, for imitation? Finally we shall be driven to the statement, that there is "something" in the boy that has made the collection of stamps, or the imitation of a particular man, gratifying to him.

An explanation of this sort has not led us far. We have said, in effect, that this boy likes stamps because he is the kind of boy who is likely to like stamps. And we feel when we see the boy at work with his collection, and observe the ardour that goes with all that he does with them, that his statement that he collects because his uncle does so is an excuse rather than a reason. It may have been his uncle who first put him in the way of collecting; but this fact does not explain the charm that stamps have come to possess for him, his readiness to part with pocket-money and to give up real pleasures, for the sake of buying fresh specimens. During the current week a teacher has spent a good deal of time in showing him how to master simple equations; but the boy has not sacrificed a single pleasure to gain more time to work examples of simple

equations. The boy is spoken of as being "keen" on his work; but "keenness" is here a relative term, and the "keenness" for algebra is not for a moment to be compared with that for stamps.

We have to believe that the stamps have afforded a means of gratification that is superior to that which is afforded by anything else at the time. We cannot explain this by any reference to the stamp, which is a piece of paper, faced with a coloured design and backed with a layer of gum, and worth a sum of money which may be little or much. It is clear that we cannot explain the absorbing interest by reference to the stamp, and that we have to attempt to explain it by reference to the boy. In one case of a boy who collected stamps, and whose one idea seemed to be to amass a considerable collection, the interest ceased so soon as his father bought him one. Obviously the interest centred round the amassing, rather than about what was the result. The father had made this interest impossible, since he had not realised precisely what the interest was. We shall make the same error, if we hastily conclude that all boys who collect stamps are moved to do so by the same interest, or that the interest is motivated by the same purposes, or if we take as the whole truth the reasons that the boy assigns when we question him.

The boy may be moved by an idea that seems

to move primitive people, as well as a great many men who are not, at least in some directions, at all primitive. It is the idea that property is in some way an extension of oneself, and that the possession of property, of no matter what kind, makes one "big," and therefore important. In such a case the mere size of the collection would be of paramount importance. In another case the idea may be to be the possessor of something of "worth" or "rarity," and to be therefore of "worth" or "rarity" oneself. The boy identifies himself with his collection, which makes him able to dominate his fellow-collectors. He is "bigger," "better" or "more exceptional" than those with whom he comes into competition.

Here, again, we meet with the idea of rivalry. Rivalry is naturally concerned with the idea of self-assertion. Assertion ceases to be assertion when it reaches no higher level than that of a great many people in one's immediate neighbourhood; but becomes assertion when it excels this. Hence successful assertion is connected with outdoing, with competition.

The child who is weak and defective in some physical respect, has from the very first years of its life an interest in outdoing others. We are often surprised by the vigour, the zeal, and sometimes the arrogance or truculence of small men and women. The number of men and

women who are pursuing with energy tasks which are evidently beyond their physical or mental strength, is surprising. The man who is handicapped realises, more than any other, the nature of the competition, the value of effort, and the importance of the race. The so-called "wish to be first" is a common motive with neurotic children. These are the children who labour at home-work, putting an altogether disproportionate amount of effort into their tasks, in order that they may become "first" in the class. Some, realising that the struggle is hopeless, abandon themselves to daydreams, whose theme is the victory of the dreamer over every rival, by means of pre-eminence in tasks which he cannot perform in reality. The child who daydreams in this way shrinks from tests, since there is a possibility at least that these would not place him in the coveted "first" position. Every teacher will recall the trouble that is caused, at the end of a term, by the absence of children, through unaccountable illness, from the examinations. The trouble is the greater since among the children who are so absent are some who have worked conspicuously well throughout the term, and whom the teacher hopes to see take prominent positions on the class-lists, and possibly to recommend for promotion.

This is not to say that there are not genuine cases of illness. There are. But experience goes

to suggest that the proportion of illnesses is generally higher when examinations are being held. The weather cannot be held to account, since Christmas, Easter and Midsummer have little in common, so far as this factor is concerned. "Worry" may be assigned as a cause, but the term is in need of explanation. Without defining the term at all, we may admit that worry arises when there is mental conflict. The conflict in the mind of the neurotic child is the desire to take the first place in the class, and the desire to avoid the test. The illness is thus to be regarded as an "arrangement," as a compromise. The child's absence from the examination is honourably explained. Its place in the class is explained thus: "I don't really know where I stand, since I was ill when the examinations were being held." At the moment I know a girl, who admits frequent daydreams of being first in the class. Since her admission to a secondary school she has taken only one examination completely. Before each of the others she has had trouble with her eyes, which has made a visit to the oculist necessary. On each occasion the oculist has discovered that her sight has completely changed since she was fitted with glasses. She has to wait till the new glasses can be made. Meanwhile the examination has been held. . . . Of her position in the class this girl says: "I do not know where I stand. You see, I was not able to take the examination

because of my eyes. . . . When I did take the examination, I was the third in the form."

It has to be admitted that the difficulty with the eyes creates a situation which is in accord with the girl's attitude towards her class. Moreover, though the situation proves so convenient, its arrangement cannot be effected consciously. It is impossible that, by any conscious effort of will, she could alter her vision, or that she could successfully deceive a capable oculist. Again, the changes in her sight have frightened her, and she has a fear of becoming blind. But it is impossible to escape the conviction that there is a causal connection between the incidence of examinations and the difficulties that arise in connection with her sight. The full connection of the two cannot be stated, since no detailed analysis of the case has been made.

For such cases as these the school does not provide. The teacher may decide that the girl is to be counted as the bottom pupil in the form. This makes no difference, since the pupil regards herself as the first in the class, and has as much real evidence in favour of her opinion as the teacher has in favour of the one she adopts. Consciously the pupil does not desire to avoid examinations. She "worries" about them and admits that she does not like them. When they arrive her eyes are troublesome, and the doctor has given instructions that she is to do no work

until the new glasses have been made. She is able to sit and build airy castles, whilst her fellows actively compete against one another. But for all this she has no conscious control over the condition of her eyes, and she cannot, in view of expert opinion, be accused of malingering. The matter is much more subtle.

We have to believe that behind the phenomena we have been considering there lies a strong interest, an egoistic interest in herself and her relation to other people. There is an interest in herself as "first." And since she fears blindness, there is an interest, too, in this. It is impossible to say, without a very searching inquiry into this girl's past, where and when she realised that blindness was a condition that attracted the attention of others, and made a blind person an object of solicitude and care. But there is little doubt that there has been an episode, that has been wrongly understood by her in the past, and has led her to believe that blindness was a condition that would realise for her a body of egoistic wishes. In the sequel, the conditions that threaten to frustrate the wishes—such as an examination—evoke the fear of blindness and the trouble with the eyes.

Every teacher has experience of the way in which a cough is used by pupils in a class. It is difficult to believe that the coughing is not deliberately done in order to make a noise at a

given moment, so effective is it in disturbing the class, in spoiling an effect, or in enabling the pupil to attract attention to himself. Once a cough has broken the silence, others will follow. But it is merely necessary to look back a little, and to remember the occasions on which one has coughed oneself, to discover that the cough is not realised as one that is merely simulated. But when so much has been admitted, it must still be recognised that the very convenience of the coughing, which permits a pupil to make a noise and to plead that it "could not help it," at a time when noise has been forbidden, leads us to suspect that there is a motive behind it. There are strong grounds for the suspicion, but we must not go farther and assert that the motive is a conscious one. Because there appears to be a motive, we must not necessarily believe that there is deliberate intention. The cough enables a child to behave in a way that is contrary to the instruction of the moment, to express hostility to the teacher, to attract the attention of the whole class to itself, to assert itself, and some or all of these are things in which the child is deeply interested. But it is by no means consciously aware of such interests, which may yet, in spite of this, motivate a great many of its actions. If there should be a boy in the class who has a genuine cough, then the other children are likely to imitate him, and to cough also,

because unconsciously they perceive the way in which the cough enables him to realise the things in which they are interested. In a sense, the children may be regarded as "wishing for a cough," though they would not consciously realise it or express the matter in such a way; and it would appear that this is sufficient to set in action the bodily mechanisms that make them cough.

We are here brought into touch with imitation. According to some people, children imitate everything and everybody. If this statement were as true as it is sweeping, the teacher's task would be a great deal easier. Those who talk about imitation seldom take the trouble to point out how selective a child's imitation always is. He will much more readily imitate a teacher's tricks of manner and dress, his style of wearing his hair or knotting his tie, than he will imitate his way of approaching an arithmetical problem or planning an essay. This is sometimes explained by saying that the child notices these things more, which is merely another way of saying that he is more interested in them. The child imitates those traits of other people or of animals which interest him, and his interests, as we have seen, are in great part prompted by his instinctive wishes.

Thus the child is greatly interested in imitating the noises made by various animals, because noise is for him a means of expression and of assertion. He understands the importance of noise long

before he is able to appreciate the importance of grammatical speech. He imitates the aggressive behaviour of animals—the way in which a cat scratches or a dog frightens children—because aggressive behaviour is a means of assertion, a way to power. Sometimes other facts about the people in his circle are impressed upon him: it may be that his father's encyclopædic knowledge about things in which the boy is interested suggests that he should imitate the father and store his own mind with facts.

It would seem, generally speaking, that the problem of the strongest interests of children is bound up with the problem of instinctive motives. Of these the motive of self-display or self-assertion is the one with which the teacher has most to reckon. There are others, of course, that will call for attention later in this book.

We adults do not differ a great deal from children as regards our instinctive tendencies, though we differ a great deal in the way in which we give expression to them. Self-assertion and display may be expressed by means of an undue fondness for showy clothing or for academic distinction; by the desire to do good work in a public capacity or merely to make a great deal of noise. We infer the presence of the instinct from the activity. But we have no first-hand acquaintance with an instinct.

It would seem, and there is a great deal of

evidence in the preceding chapters for the assumption, that we are urged towards the choice of certain modes of behaviour from among the possibilities that our surroundings hold out to us. The choice we make is directed by our interests. Our interests indicate that we have realised—not necessarily consciously—that the modes we choose to adopt are selected because they appear to make possible the fulfilment of instinctive desires.

It may be that all these instincts, defined in the way they have already been defined in an earlier section of this book, are in reality merely aspects of one great "urge" towards activity. It is certain that when we try to conceive "subjection," we cannot but believe that it is often, may perhaps be always, a mode of "assertion." If we attempt to consider the activities in which an individual engages for mere pleasure, we are able to see that these subserve ends that are racial rather than individual. All human behaviour may, perhaps, be regarded as an expression of a single "urge," therefore, and consequently it is possible to introduce into psychology a conception analogous to that which physicists employ in their own science, when they regard all phenomena as manifestations of "energy." Consequently, some of the modern writers speak of a "libido"—a "something" difficult to define precisely, but which may be regarded as the urge that has been referred to. The sources of

this stream of energy lie outside consciousness, in the region of unconsciousness. The stream is directed in certain ways, and these directions we call interests. Some of the interests are conscious, in the sense that we are conscious of them, and some are consciously directed. But the direction of the stream may be largely determined by what has already obstructed or directed its flow, whilst it was still traversing unconsciousness. Pursuing the analogy of a stream, we may say that obstructions in unconsciousness may dam the flow, or may divert it—may even cause it to turn backwards. And here it may be stated, still in terms of this analogy, that the object of psychanalysis is to investigate the unconscious regions of the mind, and to make possible the removal of the obstructions which dam or divert the stream, so that the freed "libido" may flow singly, as a powerful river, from unconsciousness into consciousness, there to be directed into interests of value. As a result, the subject should be able to act according to the standards of consciousness, according to considered judgment; able to do the things he wills to do, with the whole of the energy at his disposal. He should no longer be diverted from his purposes by tendencies which he does not will, and that are alien from his conscious ends. This is what some apologists for psychanalysis seem to mean when they say that the end of psychanalysis is "spiritual freedom."

CHAPTER VIII

INTROVERSION

A PARENT, speaking at an educational meeting, stated that his son, up to the age of four, was an active boy, keenly interested in making a noise and in various forms of activity. Later, the boy became quiet, preferring solitude to company, and reading to games or play. He preferred books dealing with adventure.

Questioned as to whether he knew anything about his son's dreams, the father said that there was nothing interesting about them, since they merely repeated episodes in the books that the boy had been reading: hunting and fighting scenes. But, in reply to further questions, he realised for the first time what had till then evaded his attention, namely, that in his dreams the dreamer always represented himself as the leader of the band, and as the hero of whatever episode was depicted.

There is nothing extraordinary about the boy in question, since others like him can be found in any classroom in the country. But common

as he is, he nevertheless raises problems which we have hardly yet begun to consider. We have on the whole, been satisfied to fit him with a label, and to describe him rather than to understand him.

Why is it that so many boys should prefer to live in imagination, and should shirk reality?

In many cases a partial reason is to be discovered in a physical disability. The child who, on account of short sight or deafness, is outmatched by his schoolfellows, finds that his wishes to do well and to excel others in work and in games are thwarted and frustrated. The possibility of realising these wishes in a real world does not exist for him. But it is nevertheless possible for him to realise them all in a world of the imagination, where he is able to create all the circumstances that he needs for success. In the worlds of dreams and of day-dreams his physical disabilities do not exist. There the blind see, the deaf hear, and the weak become strong. The people he imagines are different from the people of the real world; not pushing by him and outdoing him, but permitting him to overcome them, and even applauding his success in doing so. So pleasant is this world of make-believe, that the teacher has, as a rule, to discover for himself which children are unable to see the blackboard or map, or to hear the lesson, since these have often learned to realise

for themselves so much pleasure in their fictive world that they have no wish to take up the tasks that await them in the real one.

We are able to deduce from the conduct of the child an attitude towards the real world. The attitude implies a shrinking and a fear. There is a sense of a deficiency, which reality tests and makes obvious. Reality brings into consciousness what the subject is trying to forget, that for which his daydreams and his dreams are compensations, which make forgetfulness of the real trouble possible.

We cannot avoid the conclusion that the defective child has made an estimate of himself. ("Defective" is here used in a wide, rather than in a technically narrow sense.) The estimate can hardly be regarded as a conscious one, and is certainly not the weighed and calculated just estimate that the adult thinks he is capable of making about himself. It has apparently been arrived at as a result of a comparison with other people, adults and children, and as a result of the testing of himself against his environment. It must be supposed that such an estimate has been arrived at by the time that the child is three years old, since we can often notice the deliberate turning away from real activity in children of this age.

But if the defective child must be imagined as making an estimate of himself, there is no

reason why we should believe that the normal child does not make a similar estimate. He, too, comes into contact with other people and tests himself against his environment. But he meets with a measure of success which is sufficiently gratifying to encourage him to continue.

It is different with the defective child. He meets with ill success. He may attribute his failure to something in himself, as not making sufficient effort, or to the nature of the environment, which is conceived as malicious or cruel. In the latter case, he is merely doing to the universe in general what the small child does to the fire that has burned him when he says, "Naughty fire!"

In the present chapter we are concerned with the child who turns away from the environment. There is another possible reaction, that will be considered in a later chapter. But the child who turns away may do so either because he considers that he is too weak to attack it successfully, or because he regards it as too menacing. These two reasons may seem to be the same thing in reality, as indeed they are, but the distinction between them is a distinction in the attitude of the subject towards them, and as such is important.

Now it is generally found, in the course of an analysis of a child or an adult of this type, that some episodes or series of episodes in early in-

fancy, frequently before the third year of life, has fixed the attitude of the patient towards his environment in such a way that ever after, throughout adult life, this attitude towards the real world persists. Reverting to the terminology of the last chapter, we may say that the episodes have acted in much the same way as a mound would act if placed in the bed of a river, diverting its course so long as the mound remained.

The following dreams will serve to illustrate the case in point. They are dreams of a girl of twelve years, rather small for her age, and working in a junior form in a secondary school.

Case XVI. Saturday night. I was going up the High Street with mother, and we went up a passage and arrived at a gate, where a lady, who was standing at the gate, asked us where we were going. We said, "To a house." She opened the gate for us. We arrived at F.'s house.

There we saw L. (the sister of F.) sitting on the table. When she saw us she said, "Bless you. I'm going to business soon."

When mother and I went we had to crawl under the door.

Thursday night. F. gave me a conduct mark for calling her an old bean. I would not take the point. The form master tried to persuade

me to take the point, and offered me half-a-crown to do so, but I would not.

A certain amount of school history will have to be added to the associations of the dreamer in order to make the significance of the dreams clear. On the Friday, that is, the day preceding that on which the first dream was dreamed, F. had been elected form captain. The subject, in talking about her dream, says that L. (whom she knows only slightly) treated her as if she (the dreamer) were F. But F. is the form captain. Therefore the dreamer is in the dream treated as if she were the captain. As she talks about the dream to the person who is investigating it, she becomes aware that a wish is expressed here, and says, "I wished very much when the election was taking place that *they would make me captain*." The child is, however, quite unfitted for any such position, and is one of the last persons that the form would be likely to choose to lead them. Consequently, since her wish is incapable of fulfilment in the real world, its gratification is discovered in the world of dreams. Possibly, too, in the world of daydreams.

The first dream, occurred, as will be seen, on the Saturday. On the following Tuesday the initiation of the form captains took place. This is a public ceremony, which is held in the school hall. The dreamer sat, with the members of her

form, in front, following every detail of the ceremony intently. She had a writing-pad, and was observed to write down the names of all the form captains as these were read out by the teachers. The list was quite useless when completed, for nothing in her school life will bring this girl into contact with captains other than those of her own form. But we are able to infer, on the part of this child who wishes to be a captain and cannot be one, an intense interest in captains.

The name has an immense significance for primitive folk, who remain at a childish level of culture. There are savages who take the greatest pains to conceal their names from their fellows, being indeed known only to these by nickname, since they believe that the man who knows their names wields an extraordinary power over them. In some forms of primitive magic the name of the person who is to be injured is used in the ceremony, apparently with the idea that the name is really a part of the individual. Some such idea may lie behind the concealment of the name of the god in certain religions. We are tempted to believe that young children attach the importance to names that they do because they are "reasoning" in a similar fashion. We have grown accustomed to the idea that the child, in the course of his development, briefly recapitulates the modes of life of his ancestors.

There is a great deal of evidence which goes to suggest that he also recapitulates the modes of thought of primitive men as he passes from the early stages of consciousness to adult thought.

At the stage when boys wish to be engine-drivers, which we have considered to be a stage of expression of the wish to dominate, many of them keep note-books, in which they enter the distinctive numbers of the engines that pass the point of observation. Any one who lives near a railway bridge in a provincial town may often see numbers of boys so engaged. There is keen competition among the boys, who compare their lists with each other. The boy who has recorded a number that no one else has been able to get, or who has a longer list than anybody else, is very proud and is greatly envied.

Here we are able to see that the recording of the number of the engine is a fantastic realisation of the wish to drive it. The boy controls the number of the engine, which is a substitute for the engine itself. Such an idea is strictly equivalent to the savage idea about the significance of names. So that we are able to see in the apparently purposeless activity of the child in the school hall an attempt to control all the captains in the school. She wishes to be captain, but cannot be, and therefore obtains gratification by making herself in fantasy a super-captain —a captain of captains.

Such a conclusion might appear at first to be too bizarre for serious consideration. Experience has proved, however, that we have no right to reject a theory because it seems extraordinary, provided it fits all the facts. Is it possible to find confirmation of what has been suggested?

We find such confirmation in the dream of the Thursday night. She has been disrespectful to the form captain, calling her an "old bean." She has refused to take the punishment awarded her. The form master takes a hand, but his persuasions are resisted. The dream, therefore, in expressing hostility and superiority to the form captain, whose authority is set aside and who is treated with insolent familiarity, repeats the motive that has been assigned to the writing of the captains' names.

There is still more than this in the dream. A term or two ago, the form master promised the girl who is now form captain that he would give her half-a-crown if she should succeed in keeping clear of adverse points for the coming half-term. The offer was made for special reasons, and was made to no other pupil. Hence it is clear that, in dreaming that half-a-crown has been offered to her by the form master, the dreamer is expressing the wish that she might be the girl who has become captain. She is identifying herself with her, and expressing the wish that she herself were the form captain.

The dream therefore expresses two wishes: the wish to be captain and the wish to act in a successfully hostile manner towards the girl who is captain, *i. e.* to be superior to the captain.

What is, however, of great significance in the dream, as revealing the girl's attitude towards reality, is the opening sentence of her narrative of the first dream. She is taken to the house by her mother, and by a "lady": she does not arrive there by her own efforts. Again, in expressing her wish, she says, "I wished . . . that they would make me captain." There is not a question about her fitness for the position, no realisation that the girl who was chosen was much better fitted for the position than herself. She looks to other people to do things for her. In particular, in the dream she expresses dependence on her mother.

In the case of this girl it is fairly easy to trace some of the episodes that have led to this attitude. She was, as a child, very small, and was terrorised by a brother a few years older, who used to twist her arm and seize her by the throat. On a number of occasions she has been rescued by her father, and the brother has been reproved, and sometimes punished.

She dreams very often that she is struggling in the sea and that the water is choking her. A ship passes by, and a man from it rescues her. The "free associations" with water lead directly

to the idea of suffocation and to recollections of her brother's attacks upon her. "Rescue" leads to recollections of the way in which her father has interfered on her behalf.

She has wished very much to grow bigger, since she has imagined that she would then be able to take her own part, and turn the tables on her brother. This has been a conscious desire. There is no recollection of dreams which have represented her as grown up.

She has a morbid terror of suffocation. A number of association tests revealed that after she had been taken to a funeral she was for a long time terrified lest she should be put into a hole in the ground. She thought of herself as being suffocated by the earth that was thrown in upon her. She still thinks of this at times. She has a dread of the sea for the same reason, since she thinks of the possibility of suffocation by drowning.

There is revealed in the whole of these terrors a great interest in suffocation, which is also shown in a number of the dreams.

The dreams are of a character that makes them seem at first sight exceptions to the theory that has been adopted in the earlier chapters of this book, viz., that dreams are fulfilments of wishes. Is it likely that there can exist a wish to be suffocated?

It is not, however, in the actual suffocation

that we are able to see the wish-fulfilment, but in the rescue that follows. The complete wish is rather the wish for circumstances to arise that will lead to the assistance of the dreamer by people who are able to master those who oppose her. Her early environment has fixed the idea of suffocation as furnishing an occasion for the interference of older people, and the rescue of herself.

The conduct of this girl in school offered further evidence of this attitude. She is a "good" girl, likely to win the approval of teachers, and so to enlist their interest. She continually appeals for assistance. She makes little effort to overcome difficulties, bringing sums that are well within her capacity to her teacher, and saying that she cannot see how she is to begin.

A child of this type flatters some teachers with little insight a great deal. There are teachers whose "wish to be first" is at least as strong as the child's, and to them the submissive, obedient child, who seems to recognise without question the teacher's right to the premier position, makes a very strong appeal. It is not sufficiently realised that such "goodness" is motivated by a strong self-interest, and aims at making the pupil superior to all others, by means of the teacher's backing.

Such a dependence is, however, to be deplored. It rests on a wrong estimate of oneself and

of the environment. In the case under discussion, the estimate of the self has been forced on the child by means of her own small size, and the estimate of the environment by means of a bullying and teasing brother. Discussions of the dreams and the associations to which they lead have revealed to the girl the foundations of the attitude. Her estimates, and the circumstances in which they were formed, have again been made conscious, and have been subjected to the scrutiny of an intelligence which is superior to that which made them and considered them in the first instance. They have been brought under some sort of control, and in consequence the attitude has been considerably modified, with results that are apparent in her school work.

A more marked case of introversion, as the turning away from reality to fantasy is termed, was to be seen in the case of a boy who suddenly developed a desire to go to bed at about five o'clock. He was permitted to do as he wished since he had recently recovered from a serious, illness, and his parents thought that possibly he found the day too long for his strength.

But he had no wish to go to sleep. He liked to change into his sleeping-suit, and to sit up in bed, with his favourite books about him. These were tales of adventure, fairy-tales, and books dealing with English and with classical history.

He was never happy unless he had with him a long portmanteau strap. This he used to hang about his neck, leaving a rather longer portion on one side than on the other, so that he might wave the end with his hand while he talked. If visitors called, people whom he knew, he used to ask his father to invite them upstairs to see him.

The whole tendency seems very different from what would be expected from a healthy boy of nine years of age.

There is nothing to be gained at this point by citing the whole case at length. But it finally came to light, as a result of piecing together a good deal of evidence, that the bedroom had become for this boy a kingdom. The leather strap symbolised the edging of a royal robe, and its loose end was a sceptre. The whole desire to go to his bedroom at a time when other boys were at play represented a desire to withdraw from the actual world.

The reason for this was that a brother had been born. As a consequence, the child who had taken the first place in the household found himself relegated to a very inferior place. Soon he became ill, thus drawing his mother's attention, in part at least, away from the baby and back to himself. After he recovered, the strange conduct referred to manifested itself. He became deeply interested in history, or at least in

that part of history which is concerned with the persons and acts of kings, in stories of the heroes of chivalry, and in stories of giant-killers.

About the same time he began to be a "bad" boy, giving his mother a great deal of trouble. He began to lie to her. The lies were often such as would give his mother, if she believed them, a certain amount of worry. If she did not believe them, the result was the same, since she was distressed and angry. Other lies seemed to be mere bragging, dealing with outrageous things which he alleged that he had done, often at the expense of women.

A dream which he narrated at about this time is typical of many. It is clear that in it he has adapted a scene from a book he has been reading. "I dreamed that I was in a tree with my gun, waiting for a very fierce tiger, that had killed many men, but that nobody had been able to kill. Instead of a tiger, there came a tigress with her cub—*and you know a tigress is much more savage when she has a cub with her.* But I shot her. I spared the cub, and it became very fond of me, and followed me about everywhere I went, and obeyed me."

Soon after, the boy was sent to another school, where home-work was set. Two days later he became ill, showing again all the symptoms of his former illness.

The day after the illness set in, he was induced

to talk about his school. It was only after a time that he mentioned the home-work. When he did so, he exhibited intense feeling about the matter.

Now it is not at first sight clear why a boy, who has voluntarily read the history of England, of Greece and of Rome from fairly advanced text-books, such as those of Oman and Green, should be greatly distressed because he has to work at history for half an hour or so. It becomes clearer when it is realised, however, that the homework interferes with his freedom, with the little kingdom that he has set up.

How far does the dream that has been related throw light on the situation? *The tigress is much more savage when she has a cub with her.* "Cub" recalls "baby," and "baby" brings up thoughts of his brother. If, then, his brother is the cub, it is clear that the tigress is his mother. The dream is thus a wish to kill the mother, and to dominate the brother. He kills the person who has deposed him from the first place in her favour, and subjugates the one who has usurped that place.

At this point we are able to understand the "naughtiness" and the lying that have been referred to. They are acts of hostility directed towards the mother. They have their origin in an attitude.

Further, we are able to see that the illness is in both cases likely to produce a result that

is in complete accord with this attitude, and so, in a sense, the boy gains through his illness. He distresses his mother, and gives her trouble and anxiety. He *makes* her restore him, in some measure, to the place from which she has deposed him.

The interest that was formerly directed to the mother is withdrawn from her, and is directed upon himself. Through his mother he has been first. Now she has failed him, and he can no longer depend upon her. He has to make an adjustment and has to become first in spite of his mother.

Consequently he falls back upon himself, and builds up a kingdom of fantasy, in which he reigns supreme. He reads of kings and heroes and hunters, because these people are himself. They are people who fight, who overcome rivals, who make themselves first. He is interested in these stories, which absorb all his attention, because all his interest is bound up in himself.

The home-work is hated, because it is an intrusion of the real world, which threatens to break down the kingdom he has set up. He therefore falls back upon a device that has already proved successful, and becomes ill.

At this point the matter was taken up. He was not told what was the precise meaning of his dreams. Nor was anything said to him about his rivalry with his younger brother, nor about the significance of his lying. But it was

pointed out to him, in the course of friendly conversation, that it was clear that he was pretending to be a king. He cheerfully admitted the meaning of the strap. Then it was pointed out that home-work was the very thing that met his need, inasmuch as it was work that was done away from control, and that its satisfactory performance was a proof of reliability, initiative and capacity for responsibility, which were qualities indispensable in a leader. It became possible, also, to point out that the heroes of chivalry would be sorry figures in the modern world, and would probably soon find themselves in the police courts and in prison.

The response was immediate. The day after the conversation he was quite well, and was able to go out of doors. The desire to remain alone in his room was replaced by the more normal desire to stay up as late as possible. The lying disappeared shortly after.

What is to be said of an illness of this character? In what sense is it real? In what way is it different from mere malingering? It is real in that it presents symptoms which cannot be pretended. A man may complain of an ache that does not exist, but he can hardly pretend to have visible symptoms that are not actually present. It is not malingering, for though a man may read up the feelings that accompany a disease, and pretend that they are a part of his

actual experience, and may even simulate such things as shortness of breath or deafness or defective vision, a child cannot possess the detailed knowledge of a disease that is necessary if one is to deceive a physician, even if the symptoms he exhibits are such as could be simulated, granted the knowledge.

But there is no doubt that the disease in such cases enables the "wishes" of the patient to be gratified, though at the cost of a great deal of suffering and actual danger. It is of the kind that medical writers on psychanalysis term a "neurosis," a disease that will yield to psychological treatment. It may often simulate a disease that will not yield to such treatment, but which must be dealt with in the ordinary way by a medical man. We seem to find here the "libido" compelling the organism to bring about a situation which will effect the libido's own ends, the gratification of instinctive wishes. That the illness spoken of in the case of the boy referred to was not real in one sense, is proved by the fact that so soon as it was discovered that it was unnecessary, inasmuch as the instinctive wishes could be equally gratified by means of home-work, the illness disappeared.

The case is interesting and illuminating, since we are presented with a complex of physical symptoms of illness, "bad" conduct, fantasy and dream, each part of which is consistent with

another and with the whole. Each part is an expression of an attitude towards the real world.

Let us for a moment adopt the analogy of life as a war. In actual warfare there is a type of soldier whose constant expression is, "Get on with it!" There is another whose ever-present wish is to get "out of it," which he often expresses in another form, since he is afraid that others will take him for a coward. We can conceive an ideal attitude which is neither of these wholly, but contains them both. The first man has fixed his attention on the war; the second upon himself. The ideal attitude is concerned with both—with the realisation of a correct relation between the two. The first man cannot endure inactivity, preferring rash attacks. He is impatient of plans and strategy, and has little use for organisation. The second man plans and thinks. He dislikes activity and fears it, preferring to excuse delay on the ground that he is making preparations, is "thinking the thing out." The man with the ideal attitude combines attack with organisation, adjusting the one to the other.

It must not be imagined that the introvert is incapable of bravery. The war has proved that he often possesses courage in a very high degree. But his attitude is a handicap on such occasions. In general he fears reality, he has to "screw his courage up" and take thought and plan. He

"dies many times" before the end comes. He seeks by taking thought to add cubits to his stature, and does so, but it is in fantasy only, and not in reality.

Introversion presents itself to us in the classroom in many forms. The shy boy, the dreamer, the imaginative child, the "bookish" boy, the boy who does not care for games, are amongst the commoner types of introvert. The child who has been provided with glasses, that are often going astray or are being broken unaccountably, is another type. The children who depend upon their teachers too much, who seek to win goodwill by submission, by abnormally good or hard work, or by offerings of flowers—these again are introverts.

The examination dream reveals again the introvert. One of the commonest is that of being chased and of escaping. The pursuer is generally a fearsome monster or a savage man. This is how the unconscious mind of the introvert conceives the test of the real world, the situations which conflict with the idea of the self. Reality is savage or fearsome. It is something from which the dreamer must escape, as he longs to escape from reality in all its aspects, into the security of the daydream.

CHAPTER IX

EXTRAVERSION

We have already seen that all behaviour involves both the organism and the environment. Every action changes, not only the creature which acts, but also the thing which is acted upon. The home, the school, the family, the city, are all changed as a result of the things we do as members of them, but we ourselves are also changed by the things which they permit us to do, and by the restraints from activity which they impose upon us.

All successful action involves this double reference to ourselves and to our environment. In considering what is to be done, the question of who is to do it must not be ignored. In considering who is to do a thing, there must also be taken into account precisely what is to be done.

The man who, finding himself bored, begins to say, "Let's do something," is evidently concerning himself with one factor only, though

practical considerations may compel him later to take into account the other also.

If we take the view that our activities are all possessed of an instinctive origin, there is always the danger that we may overlook the fact that mere action is not a sufficiently adequate expression of the instincts of the man of our civilisation. To return again to the instinct of self-assertion, we may say that a proper expression of this instinct must be in accordance with the self which is to be asserted and the environment in which the assertion is to be made. An Australian savage may assert himself very satisfactorily by decorating his body with coloured lines, or by cutting himself until blood flows copiously. In our own society we demand something different. But the desire that is expressed by the savage is with us still, as strongly as in him. Unless we can find for it some means of expression that is in conformity with the society in which we live, the desire is repressed, "bottled up," so to speak. It longs for the expression that it cannot find.

In the introvert, whom we were considering in the previous chapter, the repressed desire is expressed in daydreams. The introvert retires in some measure from a society which does not grant him the opportunities he needs, and contemplates with satisfaction imaginary pictures of himself doing all the things that he wishes to

do, and by means of which he may express the instinctive desire. The extravert, on the other hand, acts.

We are all familiar with the man who is always talking, and with the person who is always rushing about, whose hands are full of so many affairs. There is, as a rule, no justification for the amount of talking that is done, since the matter of it is unimportant and uninteresting. We say of such a man that "he likes to hear himself talk." Much the same thing is true of the "busy" type of man, since his hustling is seldom justified by its ends or its results. The things about which he is troubled are often mere trifles, and though he justifies, or rather excuses himself, by the remark, "Somebody has to do the work," everybody but himself realises that the things he does need not be done at all.

Generally, the people about such a man are agreed that his talkativeness and his activity are weaknesses, which are, on the whole, tolerantly regarded, though they are often found somewhat annoying.

The extravert is not less in evidence in the classroom than in the world of grown-up men. He is the child who fidgets, who makes a great deal of noise, talks a great deal, and is often in "mischief." He is a very distinct type from the boy who prefers to sit quietly, absorbed in his own thoughts, oblivious of what is going on about him.

In the one type the "libido" is directed outwards, in the other inwards. The first boy attends to a world of real things and real opportunities, the second to a world that exists only in the imagination.

No teacher can give a lesson which he does not feel is partly wasted. The lesson referred to is, of course, the ordinary type of lesson, given in accordance with the requirements of a curriculum. There is always some inattention. Some pupils miss one part, some another, the total result being that the whole lesson has to be given again, sometimes many times over, so that the whole class may become acquainted with the whole of the subject-matter. Whilst the lesson is proceeding, the introverts are lapsing into daydreams, and the extraverts are fidgeting, with their whole attention concentrated upon bodily movements of themselves or their fellows, upon pieces of paper that they are manipulating. In the type of lesson that we are considering, the one person who is displaying himself to advantage, who is active, is the teacher.

It may be urged that an extreme case has been taken. So much may be granted, but at the same time it cannot be denied that this state of things is true in greater or less degree in the majority of lessons in arithmetic, geography, and history, and in some other subjects as well. In present conditions, which are the result of a great

many factors, it is difficult to see how the matter can very well be otherwise.

It is possible to realise that both the introvert and the extravert are short-sighted. The one flies to immediate and obvious action, the other takes refuge from an immediate difficulty in day-dreams. Neither look very far. The introvert should understand that, if he will only face the difficulties, they will disappear, and the overcoming of them will give him greater satisfaction than he can possibly gain from a mere fantasy. The extravert should understand that a mastery of the lesson in hand will in time lead him to activities that will gratify him much more than will pinching his neighbour. The teacher's concern is, however, much more immediately connected with what is, rather than what should be, particularly when there seems no possibility of realising the latter.

It is really a great deal to expect of young boys and girls that they should understand that the subjects taught in school will enable them to achieve a great deal in the world. They have only the word of teachers and parents for it, after all. They frequently discover that their parents are unable to assist them at all with the school home-work, and manage to make what the child regards as a success in life without the assistance of the school subjects. The child does not see the likelihood of the application of

the knowledge he is acquiring to the career he has mapped out for himself. He does not realise that the teacher makes any use of his knowledge except to teach it to other people. So that the school work goes on, not in the direction of the pupil's interests, conscious or unconscious, but more often is directly opposed to them.

It is possible to trace the origin of the extravert's attitude to the early years of life, when the child lives in an environment where he feels powerless and where he is surrounded by big people, whose speech and actions impress him. He feels inferiority. But whereas the introvert compensates himself for this deficiency by conjuring up imaginary scenes of display, the extravert chooses rather to make great efforts. The one relies on a form of thought, the other upon exaggerated action.

For a complete explanation we must, however, seek in the early years of life—most probably in the first three years—for an episode that has fixed the child's attention, so that for the remainder of his life he unconsciously lives in the memory of that episode. The activity of the extravert is to be regarded as morbid, and the attitude of the common man towards it, in considering it as a weakness, is justified. The extravert resembles the prisoner who hammers madly at the prison door, whilst the introvert sits on the ground and tries to forget that the

prison exists, or plans wild schemes of escape that he makes no attempt to put into practice. There is a rational course of conduct that lies between these extremes, a combination of plan and action.

In the previous chapter some attention was paid to the case of a boy who had become an introvert as a result of his rivalry with a baby brother. How would the extravert have behaved in such circumstances?

A girl of about three years of age used to get a doll when she saw her mother nursing the baby, imitating closely every action of her mother. Whenever she could manage to do so, she would approach the baby, and endeavour to copy the things that her mother was in the habit of doing. She would adjust the bedclothes, sing, talk to the baby, or endeavour to lift him. Her efforts were not appreciated, since the baby was seldom left unless he were asleep, so that his sister's efforts merely waked him. The child was often scolded, sometimes asked why she persisted in doing the things she had been told not to do. The only answer she could give was that she "wanted to."

Here is a case of "getting equal" with the mother, for this is precisely what all the imitation amounts to. It was accompanied at the same time by a good deal of "naughty" conduct.

In the other case that was quoted it was seen

that the dreams expressed hostility to the mother rather than to the rival in the mother's affections. One dream, in particular, was interpreted as showing an unconscious wish to kill the mother and to dominate the baby. In the case we are considering at the moment we have exactly the same things, expressed through conduct instead of by means of dreams and fantasies. The two cases afford an opportunity of contrasting the introvert and extravert reactions to an identical situation. Both children aim at taking the place of the mother with the rival, of dispossessing the mother as a punishment for her preference of the rival: both aim at a subordination of the rival to themselves.

Sometimes the rivalry is differently expressed. Occasionally one reads in the newspapers of children who have murdered a younger brother or sister.

It is only rarely that it is not easy to read into the actions of the "bad" boy a meaning, an indication of purpose. Sometimes hostility to parents or to teachers is shown; sometimes the desire to possess or to see things; sometimes the wish to perform great deeds. These acts are to be regarded as expressions of a purpose, often of great value, but almost invariably misdirected.

It seems to be the function of intelligence to direct instinctive activities in the light of knowledge of the environment. We can hardly ex-

pect of children that knowledge of the world that will enable them to direct activities to the best advantage. Nor can we expect them to gain that knowledge unless we permit them to experiment a great deal, and allow them opportunities for personal observation. We cannot, in other words, demand directed thought of our pupils unless they have been afforded means of directing their thought. The thinking of the introvert and extravert is undirected thinking, or autistic thinking, as it is sometimes called: that is, thinking away from real things and real conditions, under the compulsion of unconscious wishes. Unless the instinctive tendencies are co-opted in the service of education, we shall be faced with the difficulties that arise, as at present, because we are working against, instead of with, the child's strongest tendencies.

The introvert is terrified by new situations, and flees from them to the fantasy. He faces reality, then, with a preconception of what it should be like. Any strangeness in the situation makes him retreat to the familiar, as he knows it in the daydream. But the extravert is not deterred by unfamiliarity. He does not wait to survey the new conditions. He attacks "like a bull at a gate." A rebuff makes him feel once more the old inferiority he felt as a child, and he redoubles his efforts. He relies upon experiences and feelings.

Introvert and extravert alike are repressing something. The one fears action, the other thought. Each has the greatest contempt for the other, as is shown in the relations that exist between the pupils of a single form. The extravert regards the introvert as a milksop, whilst the introvert does not lack epithets that he is able to apply to the other. The very antipathy reveals the nature of the repression that exists. The extravert is repressing the dreamer, the "milksop," in himself; the introvert his tendencies to "roughness," to "rudeness," to "impudence," and to "silliness."

We have already seen that the dream is concerned with repressions, and we shall consequently be inclined to expect that in dreams we shall meet with some representation of the current situation and the repressions that are striving for expression in the dream. A girl of twelve years of age relates: "I dreamt that I was with my little sister. I had a roll of music in my hand. I put her inside the roll of music."

The girl in question has a younger brother, whose arrival made her very jealous. She cannot remember this, but her parents recollect it very well. As she has grown, she has been boyish in her manner and in her tastes. She has been especially fond of climbing trees. This is not in imitation of her brother, who is too young for such an activity. She has often resented being

sent out in charge of her brother, since when he is with her she cannot climb trees, but must look after him. When she takes him shopping with her, she insists on his carrying the parcels or the basket. We can find here expressions of the tendency to place herself on a level with her rival by emulating a boy, and to degrade the rival by making him subordinate to herself.

She has been able to understand these motives as a result of the discussion of some of her dreams. There has been a marked change in her in many ways in consequence. She has lost a morbid terror of fire that used to keep her awake at night, and that was connected with her hostility to her brother. She has realised that her attitude is the result of a persistence of a childish jealousy, unconscious in its nature, and the discussions have enabled her to make it conscious and to control it.

The dream that has been quoted shows this quite well. Without analysing it at all fully, it is possible to regard it from the level on which the people in the dream are dramatisations of some phase of the dreamer's personality. The little sister represents the "baby" in her, a something that is present with her wherever she goes. She dislikes music, but works very hard at it, having made up her mind to master it. The little sister is made one with the roll. Here, then, the dream may be interpreted as representing her own efforts

to master the "baby" in herself by means of her own efforts.

It must not be imagined that the introvert and the extravert are to be regarded as people for whom there is no hope, as people who are to be considered as nuisances in our classes, as people who are working against us, and with whom little can be accomplished. Their tendencies are evidences of the emphasis that they are at present laying upon aspects of a problem which they should consider as a whole. Their attitude indicates the nature of the appeal that should be made to them.

It is a little depressing to teachers to read at times that many successful men of the world were at one time the despair of the masters in the schools they attended. Magistrates, in particular, seem frequently to boast of this from the bench, when they have occasion to deal with a bad boy, with the object, apparently, of consoling the people who have to deal with the boy in question. What has happened, of course, is that the former "bad boy" has been lucky enough to meet in life a situation which enabled him to give valuable expression to those tendencies which could find only mischievous expression in the school. It has been pointed out that bad boys often make good colonists, and it is well known that many men who left their country for their country's good played a great part in the found-

ing of Australia. Life provided outlets for tendencies which could only, in a settled country, find expression in acts that were termed "crimes."

A great deal has been written about the cinema and its effects upon children. The full consideration of the matter demands a chapter to itself. But it may be said here that the cinema provides to the introvert material for his fantasies, though, it would seem, a great deal less than might be anticipated. A collection of daydreams made in some elementary and secondary schools showed very few evidences of the influence of the cinematograph theatre. But for the extravert the cinema play furnishes models for conduct. The child who commits crimes as he has seen them portrayed on the film, or who expresses his emotions in the exaggerated manner of the screen actor or actress, shows by these things his extraversion.

The discrimination of these two opposed types of child is of more than theoretical importance. Each presents us with a different type of problem. There has been some discussion as to which is the more intelligent: somewhat fruitless discussion, since the final verdict depends so much upon the type which the judge represents in himself. Neither extraverted nor introverted behaviour can be regarded in itself as intelligent, but both are capable of being intelligently directed and made of value. All human action that is removed from

the commonplace, and most that is merely ordinary, has a bias in one direction or the other. There must be schemes, there must be achievements. The introvert thinks in terms of the one, the extravert in terms of the other. One is concerned with preparing for eventualities, the other with meeting them as they arise. In philosophy and science, we meet the one as the systematiser, the other as the brilliant and daring experimenter.

The educational problem in the case of both is that of bringing directed thinking to bear on their tendencies. The extravert has to learn to think in connection with his actions, the introvert to direct his thought to real and useful ends. Neither will, however, learn merely because a teacher insists on delivering homilies. The introvert will fly from the boredom to his comforting daydream, the extravert will attend to a fly that is walking on the wall, will fidget as his muscles move in attempting the activity he would love if he were free of the classroom. The appeal to the boy, if his tendencies are to be enlisted on the side of the teacher, has to be different in character from that which the homily can make. After all, it is very futile, when one has discovered that a lesson does not appeal to a boy, to attempt a further appeal by means of a further lesson.

The expression has to be studied, in order that

one may discover what is being expressed. The key to the introvert's real interest is to be found in his daydreams, and to the extravert's in his actions. In these are expressed the instinctive tendencies that have been ignored in the methods of the classroom.

CHAPTER X

IDENTIFICATION

REFERENCE was made in an earlier chapter to a boy who in his dreams became the chief of a band of warriors or hunters. The scene was made up of fragments taken from books he had been reading at the time, and differed from these mainly in the fact that it was another person than the dreamer who had taken the principal rôle. The boy had put himself in the other person's place and had taken over his standing and his activities.

Such an "identification" is not uncommon in dreams. A boy of nine years of age narrates the following:—

Case XVII. I was in Rome, where I met the Emperor Augustus. He was pleased with me, and made me second to himself. I fought for him and lent him large sums of money. But he was ungrateful, so I fought against him and beat him. I took the princess from him and married her, and made myself the first man in the kingdom.

Associations revealed that the dreamer had identified his father with the Emperor Augustus. The remainder of the dream shows that he has also identified himself with the prince who is the hero of the fairy tales. The dream occurred at a time when the boy was reading adventure, classical history, and fairy tales, so that his dreams represented him now as a hunter, now as a prince.

The phenomenon of identification is common also in daydreaming. The daydreamer identifies himself in the fantasy with a famous boxer, a great cricketer, a fairy queen. A girl of eleven years of age, attending an elementary school in a dingy quarter of a great town, narrates the following daydream:—

Case XVIII. I often imagine during lessons that I am in a beautiful wood with my friends, and that we are all fairies. Of course I am the Queen, and wear a beautiful silver dress. My friends wear white dresses, trimmed with pink rosebuds.

Another girl in the same class relates:—

Case XIX. I often think that I am dancing on a stage, and that I dance very nicely. Everybody is pleased with me, and there is great applause.

These again are clear cases of identification, in

the one case with a fairy queen, and in the other with a pantomime star.

Such identification may proceed very far, and may become pathological. The wards of lunatic asylums contain patients who have identified themselves with Christ, with the Virgin Mary, with the King or the Prince of Wales, with the devil, with Mary Queen of Scots, or with some other famous or notorious personage. But there are also identifications which are of social value, as when we put ourselves in the place of another and become capable of feeling sympathy. It would obviously be impossible to fulfil the law, "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you," unless we were able to identify ourselves with the "others."

The higher types of identification differ from the pathological manifestations in that there is present a greater degree of conscious control, and there is also present a recognition of the fact that we are ourselves, though we are at the same time experiencing the feelings that are only completely justified in the case of the person with whom we are identifying ourselves. There is a real reason for his grief, an objective reason, and we are aware that we have no such ground for the feeling that we share with him. We are, as a rule, able to bear lightly the sorrows of others because we are capable of controlling in great measure the extent to which we bear them.

Between these two extremes lie the cases of identification that are to be met within the classroom. The dramatic method of teaching history bases itself on the fact that children may be readily made to identify themselves for a time with the great personages of the past. Scenery, costume and set speeches are all means to this end.

The history and the geography lesson appeal to the child because they afford him opportunities of identifying himself with great men of the past and with the inhabitants of other countries. The composition lesson, too, in so far as the composition is free, also affords means of identification. Children are very interested in writing "autobiographies" of all sorts of things. And these "autobiographies" are, in fact, what they are named, for whether the theme be a penny, a horse, a pirate, or a drop of water, it is of himself that the child writes. He may be to some extent controlled by his actual knowledge and experience of pennies and horses, by what he has heard of pirates and of drops of water, but what is controlled is the attitude which we have already seen is a result of his first experiences of reality. The more "free" the composition, the less controlled by what we speak of as "fact," the more clearly is this attitude revealed. In a world outside the school we should expect a more personal revelation in the work of a poet than in a text-book of

applied mathematics. In both cases, however, the attitude is to be discovered. In the work of the child it is easier, as a rule, to find the quality which some people term "sincerity," than in the work of mature people, whose training has been largely in methods of concealing themselves. What is concealed exists still, however, and not merely exists, but struggles to escape.

The interest of the fairy story for the child lies in the fact that the fairy world is one of the same kind as the world he imagines for himself. It is a tiny world, of narrow but intense interests. The people who inhabit it are small, like himself, or immense, like the grown-up people who surround him. They are either very kind, showing their kindness by means of gifts, or they are hostile, with a disposition to frighten, to beat, to kill, or to imprison. It is a world of violent antitheses, like the child's own world, where things are black or white, good or bad, "nice" or "nasty," where fine distinctions are unknown. It is a primitive world, where all right is rewarded and all wrong is punished. It is precisely the kind of world that would be conceived by people of narrow and simple experience, living in a small and self-contained community like the world of the home.

The child is easily able to project himself into such a world, and to identify himself with the principal characters. It is he who meets with

the undeserved fate of the Tin Soldier, or who is the Ugly Duckling. It is he whose parents become so changed, as they begin to impose discipline upon him and make him do things that he does not wish to do, and that the older brothers and sisters are excused from doing, that he is able to imagine that in some way the family has changed altogether, and that, as in the story of Cinderella, his parents have disappeared, and have been replaced by cruel step-parents, or as in the Babes in the Wood, a wicked uncle has taken the place of his father, and that he will run away. The cats and the birds in his real world are like the cats and the birds of the fairy story, since he is able to tell them troubles that he feels human beings might not understand. He wishes that the cats and the birds could help him, and in the fairy tale the wish is realised. The fairy tale that appeals to the child makes its appeal because it is all about himself.

It is this personal factor of the fairy story that must be held to account for the fact that the child's interest in fairy stories is so great. Adults are often puzzled by the way the child asks for the same story again and again, night after night, without variation, or by the way in which he reads so many fairy tales which resemble each other as closely as do the works of many popular novelists. The child who has identified himself with Cinderella will read a hundred variants of

the same story with unabated interests, which is really no other than the interest in himself.

But the fairy tale does not end with the description of the world in which the child lives at the moment. It goes on to a development which is concerned with the putting right of all the things that are wrong, and to the inevitable "they lived happily ever after." The Ugly Duckling grows to be more beautiful than any member of the brood which persecuted it. Cinderella gains the prince whom her sisters desired, and becomes exalted over the people who dominated her and made her life unhappy. The fairy tale deals then with childish wishes and their fulfilment. It is exactly analogous to the dream and the daydream.

The childish attitude is seen persisting in the case of Hans Andersen, who, as Gordon Home says, "remained a child all his life, and could write what children want to read, because he understood their point of view." Gordon Home relates, too, how at school the young Hans made up a story about himself, "to the effect that he was of noble birth, but when he was an infant fairies had come and changed him in his cradle." In the majority of the fairy tales of Andersen it is possible to see, in the light of his biography, that they were about himself and his conception of himself in relation to the life of his time. What is the story of the "Fir Tree," for example, but

a compensation for his ill-success in obtaining the fame for which he was striving? Hans Andersen could express himself in fairy tales, because he never grew up, remaining in all essential matters a child, and retaining a child's outlook on life. "Lewis Carroll," who wrote some of the most successful fairy stories of the last generation, was different from Andersen, in that he was able to retain the child's outlook and at the same time to develop fully in other directions. He presents us with a case of "dual personality," one personality being represented in his mathematical textbooks, and the other in *Alice in Wonderland*.

It is not a very great remove from the world of the fairy tales to that of the world of melodrama, or that which is portrayed in the novels of such a writer as the late Charles Garvice. We are again in a world of violent antitheses, of blonde heroines and brunette villains. Blackmailers, moneylenders, seducers, gamblers, take the place of witches and giants; rich men, sailors, clergymen, "gentlemen," take the place of fairy princes. But the world is obviously, like those of the child's experience and of the fairy tale, one of kind people and of nasty people, and the whole construction is viewed in its relation to the happiness of a hero or a heroine. There is more control exercised by reality, at least so far as outward appearance goes, in a Garvice novel than in a fairy tale, but the differences are merely superficial.

Childish conception, fairy tale, melodrama, and popular novel may be regarded as having been produced, so to speak, with the same rubber stamp, and of having been touched up a little later in accordance with the demands of experience.

It is impossible to develop at full length this conception, which is of the greatest importance to those who are concerned with the question of popular appeal. Children are absorbed in fairy tales as they are not absorbed in their lessons, and men and women live in novels and in plays with an intensity greater than that in which they live in their work. *We seem forced to conclude that what interests us most is ourselves,* and that the extent of our interest in something else depends upon the extent to which we are able to identify ourselves with it.

Any one who has been present at a performance of a melodrama, or has been among the spectators at a great football match, will have realised the extent to which members of the audience are able to identify themselves with the players on the stage or the field. The more extraverted types express this identification by means of gestures and actions. For the introverted types, the daydream is being realised for them: they have not even the compulsion to make it up.

We meet again with the question of the cinematograph theatre at this point. The cinema theatre is a place of ready-made daydreams.

Darkness and music make more possible than usual the identifications that are made between the spectators and the characters on the screen. Darkness cuts men off from the sight of reality, the music obscures its sound. Nothing comes between the spectator and his illusions.

The cinematograph play resembles the day-dream or the dream even more than does the popular novel, inasmuch as the presentation is achieved entirely by means of pictures. Actions and emotions have to be rendered broadly, by means and gestures and facial expression, and very fine shades and distinctions have to be ignored or exaggerated. The world of the screen is more naïve and child-like than the real world, and approaches more nearly than the latter the world of the child.

Charlie Chaplin presents his audiences with a kind of apotheosis of naughtiness. He plays tricks at table with the food, he plays practical jokes upon people who are very important in their way and who are humiliated in consequence, he meets with rebuffs which have no more than an immediate effect and which generally enable him to turn the tables on the people who have punished him. His plays represent, as a rule, a long struggle with people who are bigger than himself, people who are rich or pompous, or people in authority. There is generally somebody in the play, a woman, who prefers him,

for all his ludicrous appearance, to the people with whom he is in conflict. We meet here, then, the childish situation, the drama of the child in conflict with the people about him, the child who wishes to be naughty and cannot, since he is restrained. So Chaplin represents for his audience *themselves*, able to indulge to the full their repressed wishes, past and present, and deriving from his performance the same pleasure that they would gain from a real burst of naughtiness. The laughter means that repressed emotion is being liberated, as Chaplin supplies the actions and the auditors the feeling. The whole play is, once more, the daydream.

It is unnecessary to enlarge on this point. The appeal of Chaplin to children is well known, sometimes too well known, to teachers. When peace was celebrated in London in 1919, there were a fair number of boys in the crowd, dressed in the costume that Chaplin has made familiar to playgoers. All were obviously children from poor districts. Whether it is good or otherwise for them to be interested in Chaplin, is a question about which opinions may differ. The point is that he represents something with which they identify themselves.

It is not only to children that Charlie Chaplin appeals, but to large numbers of men and women. It is not at first sight clear why this should be so. Many of us who have no desires of which we are

aware connected with throwing cream buns into people's faces, or with squirting soda-water over men who sit near us in restaurants, admit a good deal of interest in a good Chaplin film. But we have in the past entertained wishes of the sort that find expression in these crude practical jokes. We have not been allowed to indulge them, and any attempts at behaviour of the kind have been met with repression, with warnings and punishment. As a result this body of desire has never proceeded beyond the point at which it was repressed by our parents and other people in authority over us. Later, we have continued with the work of repression ourselves, and so effectively that *we have not permitted ourselves to think* of such conduct. As a result, the part of us that originated these wishes has been kept in a kind of strait-jacket that has not permitted us to develop evenly, the rest of us having grown up, and this one part having remained, and still remaining, at about three years of age. All expression of this side of ourselves has been forbidden, by parents, teachers, social and ethical codes, except the single expression of it which allows us to laugh at a stage representation of it. We could not, perhaps, laugh at the sight of a stout gentleman slipping on a banana skin, since the thought of his suffering would act as a check, but we can allow ourselves to laugh heartily when Chaplin hits his partner with a mallet.

The films that have been referred to deal with the infantile theme of turning the tables on people in authority. It is a similar theme to that of turning the tables on big people, since the people in authority in the child's world are people who are bigger than himself. This is the theme of such stories as represent Jack killing the giants, or Hop o' my Thumb proving himself superior to his bigger brothers, or the little tailor winning the princess through difficulties that had proved too great for people who would be regarded as his superiors. The unconscious interest in such themes may partly motivate the interest in the smaller of two unevenly matched contestants, which is so often vaguely ascribed to a "sporting instinct."

It would be possible to fill a great many pages with a discussion of the stories that are popular as novels, magazine stories, or as film plays. It will be sufficient to say, however, that the majority have a "happy ending"—many editors insist upon this which recalls the "they lived happily ever after" of the fairy story, and which means that the end of the story is concerned with the triumph of a person who has been despised, misunderstood, or tyrannised over by a number of people who had it in their power to act differently. It is the theme of the child and his parents, the latter misunderstanding, despising and tyrannising over him, though they might be

"kind." It is through the evidence of persistent infantile wishes, through dreams and daydreams, that we become aware of the way in which the child fails to understand the early imposition of discipline. The fire is, for instance, a pleasant and beautiful thing, that an unkind mother refuses to allow him to touch. The "discipline of natural consequences" would, if carried to an extreme, permit him to burn himself to the point of injury. But there is a middle course, which is to let the child burn himself sufficiently to realise that the fire is not all that it seems. He would meet then with the discipline of the real world, learning to respect the fire, rather than to detest his mother. Nor would he learn one of the lessons that children do learn as a result of repression, which is that if one wants to do the things one wishes, one must be very careful to do them behind the backs of the older people.

Now it is very possible that the reading of fairy tales achieves a very valuable purpose. It enables a mass of wishes and misunderstandings to be brought to the surface and to be discussed. The attitudes that we have already spoken of as directed against the teacher are fully formed long before the child comes to school. The teacher has nothing to do with their formation, and can have very little to do with their transformation since they are so thoroughly hidden in the unconscious mind. The teacher, too, can have very

little to do with the child's daydreams, since they are not part of the school activities, and since they do not come to his knowledge as a rule. But the fairy story is a daydream, a collective daydream which affords opportunities for discussion. There are possibilities of leading the infantile motive towards higher expressions. There is always the possibility of a Cinderella who achieves her ends without the help of a fairy godmother, and who attains happiness without the assistance of a fairy prince.

We see the process of "identification" at work wherever people assemble to witness some spectacle. The interest in a football player, in a victorious general, in a great political speaker, or in a popular dancer, is our interest in ourselves, overlaid with a sporting, patriotic, political, or æsthetic conscious interest. We identify ourselves with these people, and realise through them the common daydream of grandeur and display. We cease for a few moments to see ourselves as we really are, through stress of circumstance, and see ourselves as our daydreams picture us. Or we identify ourselves with people who are suffering, and in them pity ourselves as we once pitied ourselves when the people of our childish world made us suffer—for our good as they thought; for their pleasure, as we imagined. Teachers are familiar enough with the child who *is* interested in creatures who suffer, and who

says, "Poor thing!" or weeps, but who makes no effort to relieve the suffering.

If, however, "identification" underlies all our intense interests, it would appear that all our actions are egoistic in character. This, apparently, must be admitted. But there is yet a great difference between the actions of the very young child and those of a good type of adult. The child's actions are referred to himself only, and are spoken of as "ego-centred," whilst those of the adult have a wider reference. While the instinctive motive is egoistic in character, it is not permitted to find expression in acts that are anti-social. Unless an outlet that is social, or at least not anti-social in character, can be discovered, the instinctive impulse has to be repressed. The nature of the actions that cannot be permitted varies with time and place, with the "culture" of the group, so that it is generally possible to find some tribe or nation with whom what we regard as a "crime" is a worthy, or at least a permitted act.

Such considerations make clear that the conception of education will be wider in the schools of the future than it is in the majority of those of the present day. They make clear, too, some of the reasons why certain recent experiments in education have been such brilliant successes.

The principal task of education does not consist in imparting information, or in preparing a boy

to be a good workman or a successful wage-earner. These things are important, but only as a part of a greater whole. The real task is the guidance of the pupils' egoistic motives to social expression. We cannot speak of "creating" interests, but merely of directing them. The more fully and completely we are able to direct the interest of the pupils to valuable ends, the less we shall have to complain of "lack of self-control," of "badness" or "wickedness," which are all terms we apply to interest that runs to waste through useless and anti-social channels, because we have not the skill to direct it properly.

The interest that we have to direct is the same interest that is shown in the child's dreams and daydreams when it is repressed, and in spontaneous play when it is free. Education is concerned with the direction of this interest which wells up in play, into conduct which has a wider reference than the mere desire to give pleasure to himself. It can be directed through team-play, through co-operative activities, into valuable channels of expression. It was a wonderful piece of true psychological insight that led Mr. Caldwell Cook, one of the pioneers of the method in this country, to entitle the book that he has written upon his own work, *The Play Way*.

CHAPTER XI

SLIPS, ACCIDENTS AND OMISSIONS

FREUD, in his book entitled *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, has pointed out that the many slips of the tongue and pen that occur in everyday life are not to be regarded as accidental, but as having a cause. Since we are unaware of the happenings, and cannot assign any reason for them, this cause, if it exists at all in ourselves, must be in our unconscious minds. We are thus able to relate the occurrences to dreams and day-dreams, and to regard them as activities which express unconscious wishes that have been able to evade the censorship of the conscious mind.

A few days ago, a girl in one of the senior forms of a secondary school handed in a school exercise in geometry. The word "locus" occurred several times in it, and was on each occasion spelt "locust." The girl spells well, and does all her work very creditably, so that the error was surprising. If the question had been put, "Why have you spelt *locus* in this fashion?" the reply would probably have been, "I don't know. I suppose that I was

thinking of something else." But instead the question was asked, "Are you very fond of insects?" The girl suspected no reference to her geometry exercise, and replied that she disliked insects very much. She generally got well out of their way. She was next asked if she liked loci in geometry, and she said that she disliked the work connected with loci more than any other part of the school course in geometry; the other sections she did not dislike. Here she has therefore equated, by means of the slip, the loci she dislikes and the insects she dislikes. But from the geometry she cannot escape, since it is part of her school work; from the insects she can. Hence she substitutes the insect for the locus, and so expresses her wish to escape from the work that is distasteful to her.

The explanation may seem very far-fetched, and would be, if we had but this single example upon which to base our conclusions. But when we find that error after error, in place of being a mere purposeless and "chance" accident, reveals a motive of the kind that we have already discovered in dreams and daydreams, we are forced to admit that there is too much method in them for mere chance to explain them. And, after all, we explain nothing when we assign things to chance, but merely admit that explanation is beyond us.

Forgetfulness is a common enough thing in

schools, as elsewhere. We are apt to attribute it to weakness of memory, to faintness of the initial impression, and so on. But teachers have noticed before now that there is a certain method in the pupils' forgetting. Cricket matches and school parties and prize-givings are seldom forgotten: home-work frequently is. This is in itself sufficient to suggest that weakness of memory is not a complete explanation. People fall back upon the explanation that memories differ in character, that "some people remember one thing, others another." This may be a fact, but it is not an explanation at all. It should set one collecting information as to the kind of things that one person forgets or remembers, and endeavouring to relate the phenomena to other facts that we are able to ascertain about the person in question.

It would be imagined that the child's first going to school would be an event of the kind that would make a deep impression. We have the very novelty of the experience, and its complete contrast with the life at home, and we should be inclined to believe that the event would be remembered very clearly indeed in after years. If a teacher could introduce into a lesson a fact that was extremely novel, and that contrasted strongly with any other facts known to the pupil, he would expect that the fact would be remembered long after many others would be forgotten. But it is nevertheless a fact that a large proportion of

children have completely forgotten their first experiences of school, and their teachers. It is sometimes necessary to ask a child, "Where did you first learn arithmetic?" "At the first school I attended." "And who taught you?" "I can't remember."

In one case a man had a morbid horror of eyes of a particular shade of blue, especially in women. These eyes appeared in his dreams, and he was as a rule humiliated or degraded by the person who possessed them. He instinctively distrusted people in real life whose eyes were of this colour. He had been asked by an analyst to endeavour to recall some one who in early life had been associated with him whose eyes were like those of his dreams. He tried, but failed completely. Later with the assistance of his mother, he was able to get a description of the nursemaid who used to look after him as a small child. But her eyes were brown.

Then he remembered a humiliation that he had undergone at the hands of the woman who kept the small school he had first attended. He had been talkative, and he had been ordered to stand on a stool in view of the whole school. A piece of red flannel, cut in the shape of an enormous tongue, was tied round his neck. He has forgotten the episode so far as a clear memory of it is concerned, but his parents have reminded him of it from time to time. But the appearance of the

schoolmistress has been totally forgotten. He asked his mother about it, and was told that her eyes were of the colour that he so dreaded. So soon as he was made aware of the connection, the attitude disappeared. A night or two afterwards he dreamed that he met a woman whose eyes were of this colour, and in a law case that followed a disagreement he was the victor. Since then, during a period of two years, he has not dreamed of the eyes, though such dreams were of frequent occurrence previously.

The things that are forgotten in this case are things connected with humiliation, which is not a normal theme of the daydream. But we should be inclined, if we argue from the usual views regarding memory, to believe that the incident in question would have made an impression that would not easily have been obliterated from consciousness. Yet it has so disappeared, whilst a number of events less striking in character, and occurring about the same time, have been remembered.

Children are particularly sensitive on the subject of names. Young children make fun of the names of others, substituting ridiculous rhyming sounds for them, or using punning nicknames in place of them. Also, children tend, as we have already seen, like savages, to attach a greater importance to names, and indeed to confuse them very often with the personality. Thus, to substitute a

nickname for the child's name is to change him for somebody else, or to alter him by force. It is to degrade him. Often the child gets the idea, particularly if there is a snobbish tone in the school, that his name is a common one. In one case a boy who attended a preparatory school suffered a great deal because he discovered that his name was the same as that of a man who kept a fried-fish shop near the school. As an adult he is possessed of the idea that his father should have done more for him, and should have given him better things than he has given him—a university education, for example. Really, the whole attitude goes back to the wish that his father had given him a better name.

If we find an adult with a good memory for names of a certain kind, and a bad memory for names of another kind, we should be inclined to believe that names were forgotten on account of their difficulty, and the forgetfulness would be reasonable. But when we discover that a man is able to remember the Sinclairs, the Forbes, the Montagues, and the Herberts, but that he forgets the Jones, the Robinsons, the Whites and the Smiths, we see that the explanation fails totally. Further, when we find that the commonness of his name caused a great deal of pain to him in his schooldays, and led to some ridicule from his schoolfellows, we begin to realise that the "failing" expresses a wish to be rid of a common

name and in possession of a more aristocratic one. The forgetfulness is thus a getting rid of something that has in the past caused pain and a feeling of inferiority.

Forgetfulness is not found only in the child. The teacher finds that he is easily able to recall the names of some pupils, whilst he cannot remember those of others. The reason for this is not obvious at first sight. But as a rule it will be found that the reason lies in the wish that the boy were not in the class. Sometimes it is the name of a good boy, whose cleverness makes him something of a nuisance to the teacher, since he sees through things in a way that spoils the lesson, and makes it fail of effect with the remainder of the pupils; sometimes he is an unsatisfactory boy, whose removal from the class is to be desired. But the forgetfulness, the removal from the teacher's mind, is a substitute. It is a partial ignoring of the boy, an expulsion of him from consciousness, since he cannot be expelled from the class. It occurs often enough that a teacher, speaking of a boy to a colleague, says, "Do you know, I can't remember his name. I ought to, for he is trouble enough. I have to call out his name pretty often every day."

The pupil who does good work that is spoiled by blots and smudges is a familiar enough figure in the classroom. The blot often comes at the end, when a good piece of work has been completed. How is this to be explained? Is it

"chance"? When we have described Jones as careless, we have explained nothing, but have merely labelled that of which we complain. Besides there exists a whole page of good work to show that Jones, after all, is not completely careless. Experience goes to show that punishment is rarely a remedy for this state of things.

There is a strange contradiction, very often, between the dirtiness of the blot and the neatness of the piece of work that it spoils. The whole expresses the contradiction that exists in the child's nature. It is as if one person wrote the exercise, and the other threw the disfiguring stain upon it. What a conflict there must be! What enmity! But it is merely a repetition of the conflict that we have already discovered between the attention to the lesson and the attention to the daydream. There is a side of the child's mind that remains infantile, seeking only the pleasure of the moment. This side hates the school work. There is another, the conscious mind, that has come to value the school work, perhaps for its own sake, perhaps for the sake of the possibilities in the future that it opens up, perhaps for the sake of the approval of adults. The piece of work that has been spoken of reveals both attitudes—the one in the neat, painstaking effort, the other in the blot that spoils it.

It is not suggested that a conflict is to be read into every blot or smudge that appears in a school

exercise. Accidents will happen. But the frequency of the occurrence in certain cases suggests that we are here dealing not with an accident, but with a rule.

Something of the intensity of the conflict may be gathered by the attempt to imagine the resolution necessary before a good piece of work could be spoiled deliberately by its producer. But we have to conceive precisely that amount of opposition on the part of the unconscious attitude toward the productions that are the result of the unconscious attitude. What is done by the one is hated by the other. It should be possible to detect the mental conflict in a number of other ways, all going to confirm that the spoilt work is an expression of a deep inner struggle, and is not a mere accidental happening.

The same conflict of attitudes is revealed in a number of minor difficulties from which school children suffer. Stammering will serve as an instance. Stammering often occurs in cases where it is impossible to find any real organic cause of the trouble.

Stammering is an expression of an unwillingness to speak. The stammerer delays speaking for a long time, making the person who is listening pay very careful attention, trying his patience, and causing him a great amount of trouble. The boy who stammers at school is often passed over in the course of oral exercises on account of the

trouble he causes and the delay that results.

In the class the stammerer is something of a nuisance, since there are generally a number of boys who imitate him. The imitation is suggestive of a good deal of interest. Imitation has generally the purpose in view of securing the ends that are secured for the person imitated through the exercise of the act that is imitated. The boy who imitates does not, however, do so consciously. The boy, on the other hand, who occasionally mocks at the stammerer and imitates him in derision, seldom imitates him at any time unintentionally. It would seem as if the imitation is unconscious and involuntary in the one case, and deliberate and conscious in the other. It is the former child who becomes a stammerer; the latter is in no danger.

The imitation suggests a purpose in stammering, as if the boy who imitates had perceived that ends were served by stammering, and had adopted it as a mode of gaining those ends for himself. But these ends appear to be the evasion of difficulties, the giving of trouble to the teacher, and the attraction of attention to oneself.

Some objection may be made to the latter statement. Surely attention attracted by such means must be embarrassing. It is, but only to the conscious side of the individual. When we recollect that a man deliberately smashed the Portland Vase in the British Museum in order

to attract public notice, and that men and women have done the most extraordinary things to get their names into the papers, we may hesitate. We are dealing in the case of the stammerer with unconscious, and not with conscious and intelligent valuations. The dream and the daydream have already revealed to us that the mind that is manifested in them is an infantile mind, whose standards are still those of a small child, and which differ widely from those of the conscious mind of the dreamer.

We cannot punish or rebuke the stammerer for unwillingness to take part in the lesson. He is obviously trying very hard, and yet he accomplishes little or nothing more than would a boy who definitely refused to make any attempt to answer the questions given by the teacher. He is regarded as a willing and painstaking boy, who cannot help himself. For his deficiency he is not responsible. But if we can imagine a boy who alternately tries to speak and to prevent himself from speaking, we see at once that something closely resembling stammering would be the result. In other words, stammering presents us with a drama of willingness and unwillingness, in connection with speech. It is a drama of conflict.

All this applies, of course, in cases where there is no structural defect that accounts for the disability. The origin of stammering is to be looked for in the early years of life in an attitude towards

the parents, whose disciplinary efforts provoked resistance. It is not always to be discovered here, however, for there are cases in which stammering has developed later in life, and in relation to certain words only, or to certain sounds, such words and sounds being connected with an unpleasant experience that has been banished from consciousness. But in many cases there is no doubt that the stammering has developed out of the early resistance to the father, and expresses an unwillingness to speak, to admit things, or to confess things. This attitude is transferred to all people in authority, who make the stammerer feel his inferiority—that is to say, to most people, since his defect makes other people assume superiority to him.

This is the sort of case that can be treated by psychanalytical methods. There may be other ways of effecting a cure, but the majority of these are concerned with the stammering itself, that is, with a mode of expression. They do not discover or remove the attitude which stammering expresses or modify the conflict of which it is the result. But they undoubtedly remove the stammer in a large number of cases. However, since the attitude and the conflicts remain, it is always possible that they will express themselves in another and perhaps even more inconvenient way, or that an event, such as a sudden shock, may give rise to a renewal of the stammering. Psychanalysis is

radical, in that it deals with and removes the attitude which is the origin of the whole trouble.

Blushing and shyness are common with school children. They are concerned with the conscious desire not to attract attention. Why should there be this intense pre-occupation with attention, this great interest in it? The symptoms are such as compel the attention of others—the scarlet face of a single pupil, his awkward movements, the clumsiness with which he upsets piles of books or bottles of ink. Attention is centred upon him.

Here, again, we are to look for a conflict, in the face of a symptom which so inevitably attracts attention and the conscious protestations of the pupil that the attention of others is the last thing he wishes. The symptom tells us clearly enough that there is a part of the pupil which desires attention above all other things. The conflict is therefore between the desire to attract attention and the desire to avoid it. Why the desire to avoid attention? Surely because of the feeling of inferiority. What then has implanted in the boy the sense of inferiority?

The full story will vary with the individual, but we shall find in the majority of cases that there has been a circumstance in the early years of life that has impressed on the boy the fact that the attention of others upon himself leads to something that is painful or humiliating. He has done

something that has attracted the notice of others, and has been shamed as a result. Consequently, the wish to attract attention persists, as with all of us, but there exists also the desire not to attract attention. The conflict results in the blush, the blundering conduct, the awkwardness, the fear of notice.

The wit of children is a thing that has been noticed a good deal, but less so than the unconscious humour. The schoolmaster is rather pleased than otherwise with a good howler, because the narration of it gratifies the sense of superiority that he feels in regard to his pupils, and he is able to believe that he enjoys the howler, not for this reason only, but for the better one that it is a good specimen. The implications of psychanalysis are apt to prove rather like boomerangs, since they can be used with equal effect against others than the pupil.

Freud has framed the theory that wit is concerned, like daydreams and dreams, with repressed material. The teacher, if he is a decent fellow, does not display the superiority he feels in the presence of his pupils, but represses it from consciousness altogether. Occasionally a teacher is to be found who cannot conceal the sense of superiority he feels, on account of his age, experience and greater knowledge, over his pupils, and who makes it very manifest to them and to other people; but such are fortunately the exception

rather than the rule. The feeling is repressed, but it lives on and waits an opportunity for expression. The "howler" gives the opportunity. The sense of superiority is gratified, but unconsciously: the teacher, if asked why he laughed, would point to the wit of the example as the justification. Modern psychology would be inclined to look upon it as rather the excuse.

We may expect also that the wit of pupils is concerned a great deal with the things which they may not express, but which they have to repress. There is a great deal of playground wit, of which masters are supposed to know nothing, that is concerned with rhymes about the masters, and with jokes about their names—all expressions of hostility, of a hostility that has to be repressed, but that becomes excusable and tolerable because it is wit. If a boy were to say openly some of the things he felt about a master against whom he bore a personal grudge, others might take exception to the tone of his remarks. But these others could hardly forbear to join in the laugh at a funny rhyme that meant much the same. It is an old story, this. One may not call a man a liar, but may accuse him of a "terminological inexactitude," and we, as hearers, may protest that we are only laughing at the quaintness of the phrase. Or we may say that the man, sitting between Ananias and Sapphira, would complete a pleasant little family party, and the witticism

would set people laughing, whilst they protested that the personal reference did not appeal to them in the least, and that they were amused only by the unexpectedness of the quip. Schoolroom wit would be an interesting study, if some one with adequate opportunities should collect a body of examples and make them public.

Psychopathology is an awkward word, but it happens to subsume, as no other word does, a number of things out of the ordinary, for which there seems to be no adequate explanation, and which are generally attributed to accident. We may therefore speak of a psychopathology of the classroom, and hope that, as the attention of teachers is drawn to the possibilities connected with such a study, they will collect together a great body of material for development. Teachers are the only people who can do this, for the materials referred to are available only to people who live in daily contact with children, and who observe them for long periods under varying conditions. People who merely visit or inspect schools cannot do more than skim over the surface of a sea, which the teacher may explore completely.

CHAPTER XII

DEPENDENCE AND SEX

It is impossible to speak much about psychanalysis without mentioning the subject of sex. The whole world, it has been said, revolves around love and hunger; and there is no doubt that these two subjects are in the forefront of our interests. That is not to say that we think of them all the time, or even for a great deal of the time. But if we were in an environment where we had to do everything for ourselves, and where we had no sort of organised life about us, arranging matters for us, there is no doubt that we should think more urgently of both than we do at present. For most of us it is certain that if we attend to our work we shall not have to trouble much about food. Other people will grow things and prepare them for us, in return for the money that we are able to earn. As a result we have not to think at all about meals until the time that convention has decided is the proper time for them arrives. In the primary affairs of life, then, of hunger and sex, we are spared any primitive

expression of our cravings because a way out of the difficulty has been discovered for us, and we have nothing to do but follow along a trodden path.

The hunger instinct is easy enough to realise and to understand. It is an instinct whose gratification is necessary for the life of the individual. The sex instinct, on the other hand, is one whose gratification is not necessary for the existence of the individual; but is essential for the preservation of the race.

It has, however, to be clearly recognised that it is not the usefulness of the ends that are served by the instincts that is the reason for gratifying them, at least where primitive people are concerned. The savage, for instance, is not so well versed as we in the precise reasons for eating. He knows nothing of food values, of proteids and vitamines, of carbohydrates and mineral salts. It has been stated by investigators who have studied the life of some of the native tribes of central Australia, that the peoples whom they were describing were quite unaware that children were born as a result of the union of a man and a woman, but believed that the two facts were quite unrelated. The simplest reason for the gratification of any instinct is the urge of the instinct itself. Men feel restless and uncomfortable whilst an instinct is urging them on, but experience pleasant emotions whilst they

are acting in accordance with its promptings.

So soon, however, as a man begins to understand something of the nature of the ends of the instinct, so soon, that is, as he knows something of the results to himself and to others of the actions that his inner urgings prompt him to commit, he begins to modify the actions themselves. He acquires control, that is to say, over the instincts. Otherwise, he remains a savage.

Control is shown in two principal ways. The first is mere repression. The man feels the urge to commit certain acts, but decides not to carry them out—to do nothing. He may be moved by high motives purely, such as consideration for others. He may be moved only by fear. He may be moved by considerations which are based upon reason. But in any case the result will be an internal conflict between the force of the urge and the force of repression that is pitted against it. The total value of repression is in any case largely negative, since it results in no action. The man is divided against himself, using one part of his nature to fight the other. The strongest forces in him, the instinctive forces, are rendered unproductive.

It is true that it is better to do nothing at all, in a community, than to do something which can only result in harm. But it is a temporary expedient only. The real solution is discovered only when it is found possible to direct the instinc-

tive forces into channels of activity which are approved completely by the individual. The majority of such discoveries have probably come to men without their seeking. Some course of action has revealed itself, and has been welcomed as filling a real want, the "want" being the craving of the instinct for gratification. The psychanalyst regards such an activity as a "sublimation," that is to say, as an approved outlet for an instinctive activity which must in the absence of such an outlet be repressed.

The instinct of hunger has necessarily been repressed, though the activities in connection with it have been modified. We have surrounded it with ceremonial, with a ritual of table manners. We have regularised hours of eating. We have socialised it, so that meals are social occasions rather than mere appeasements of hunger. We have done something of the same kind in the case of the sex instinct, though in connection with this repression has played a greater part.

Throughout the whole of the historical period the workings of the sexual instinct have given a great deal of trouble to men as individuals and as members of social groups. We must believe that the same fact held good earlier still than this, and the belief is confirmed when we see the struggles that go on amongst beasts and birds for the possession of a mate.

Repression of this instinct begins, then, very

low indeed in the social scale. The sexual life of savages is as completely regulated, at least, as our own. This, of course, is not the same thing as to say that the regulations are exactly like our own. They are different, but they are at least as strict, and breaches are punished with a great deal more severity than is the case amongst ourselves.

The elaborate marriage regulations that are in force amongst the natives of central Australia practically mean that a man has no freedom of choice whatsoever. There is in practice one woman whom he may marry, and one only: a fact that contrasts strongly with the freedom of choice that exists amongst ourselves. In some countries class prejudices restrict choice, and in others financial considerations play a similar rôle. The adoption of monogamy involves repression. In short, wherever one looks in the world, one finds that men have had to adopt, in the interests of social life, some means of repressing the sexual instincts of the members of their group, and of enforcing these repressions by severe penalties.

There is another direction in which repression has taken place. The workings of the instinct have been placed under a social ban, so that they must not be spoken of, except in a secret or veiled manner. This is a means of repression which has failed signally, whatever we may think of the value and success of other means that have been adopted. The treatment of sex matters

as a secret has resulted in giving to them a prominence that is altogether unwarranted. Because sex has been treated as a shameful secret, it has come to be regarded as a mystery.

Now the sex instinct manifests itself in many ways. We have singled out for reprobation a few of these only, and it is these few that are generally understood when the word "sexual" is mentioned. The psychanalyst is speaking more widely than the ordinary men when he uses the term "sex." He has been misunderstood, and has been accused of seeing "sex" in the whole of life. It is there, but only in the sense in which the psychanalyst uses the word. In the sense in which the average man uses the word, it is less in life. The quarrel between the two, about which so much has been said, is really based on a misunderstanding of terms.

Sexual activities, in the sense in which the average man will use the term, cannot begin until adolescence has passed, or at least has reached an advanced stage. But is the impulse a new one? Have new instincts begun to function thus late in life? We cannot believe this. Nor can we attempt to fix a date at which the instinct began to urge. We have reason to believe that the sexual instinct, like others, urges the child to activity from birth. But it cannot urge the child to a definite conduct that is understood as "sexual activity" by most people, for the

simple reason that the physiological mechanisms and structures that are necessary for the purpose do not exist. There is reason to believe that the perfection of these is dependent upon the workings of the sex instinct, which comes into operation long before the machinery by which only it can carry out the appropriate activities is developed to the point of functioning.

There is much in the psychology of the instincts that awaits working out. Psychologists are by no means agreed in a definition of an instinct, or in their conceptions of the part played by the instincts in the mental life of man. Consequently a great deal of what is said in this chapter must be regarded as tentative merely. For much that is said there is evidence in support. Other parts of the view here suggested have been supplied in the endeavour to obtain a scheme which enables one to subsume in a coherent whole the facts of normal psychology, and those facts that have come under notice as a result of the examination of the particular facts with which this book has attempted to deal.

Some evidence of the view that has been stated in a preceding paragraph, viz., that the instinct is developed earlier than the structures that carry out the appropriate activities, is afforded by dreams, daydreams, and other manifestations of the unconscious. For example, a girl of fifteen years of age speaks of a daydream that comes to

her every night before she falls asleep. The language she employs in narrating the reverie resembles strongly that of the Song of Solomon, in that it is at once poetic and erotic. Any one acquainted at all with love-poetry is able at once to see that the theme is a sexual one, and is concerned with her own relations with a lover. But had the girl understood this, she would hardly have communicated the daydream to a teacher. She is at a stage of early adolescence. Her unconscious mind has developed to such an extent that she "knows" unconsciously things which she does not consciously know, and "plans" unconsciously things of which she is as yet incapable. The situations of adult life will find her prepared, perhaps not wisely or well, but at least prepared.

Now one of the most significant things about the life of a man or a woman is that it is incomplete. Neither man nor woman is complete. The very fact of sex means that each is deficient in certain respects, and that each is complete in the respect in which the other is deficient. Each is complementary to the other, and each must depend upon the other for completion.

In the people who depart from the normal in such a way that we have to speak of them as "neurotic," we meet with a "feeling of incompleteness." They are aware that they are not complete, and they are always seeking for means to complete themselves. Sometimes they seek

to learn many languages or many sciences, or to gain an encyclopædic range of knowledge. The feeling of incompleteness expresses itself through a felt inferiority in some cases, and the neurotic shuns the society of others. Sometimes he seeks to add to himself degrees and titles, to reassure himself, to convince himself against the evidence of his feelings. Sometimes he seeks in splendid clothing for a means of combating the feeling of incompleteness and inferiority. These instances must suffice. This is not the place to detail at length the innumerable modes in which the feeling of incompleteness may manifest itself.

There is one mode, however, which is very much the concern of the educator. The neurotic, feeling the need of some one upon whom he must depend, reaches out towards individuals in much the same way that parasitic plants stretch out tendrils towards trees that can support them.

The teacher is familiar enough with the type of child who is always seeking help. It is difficult not to like such children, even though they prove a nuisance at times. But their dependence is flattering, and it flatters the teacher in a manner to which he is too often very susceptible. The child who is seeking to depend on the teacher has every reason to remain unable to work at, say arithmetic, for himself, since it is his very inability that enables him to fulfil his end.

A very common dream with school children is

one which represents them as in difficulty or danger, as of drowning or being burned to death, but of being rescued at the last moment by some one who is seen only vaguely. A girl of eleven years of age frequently dreams that she is drowning in a great sea, and that she is rescued by some one, described as "a man," who is some distance off in a yacht. She is in great fear, and though she struggles violently her efforts are futile. The situation represents very well her attitude till recently towards her school work.

Naturally enough the pupil is in a relation of dependence upon the teacher. This dependence is something, however, that has to be kept in check. It is something that must diminish as time goes on. The pupil comes to school to depend on the teacher, it is true, but the greatest lesson that he has to learn is that he must depend upon himself. The teacher has before him a task demanding the very nicest tact, in giving help in precisely the right amount, in encouraging independence, and in giving help.

In many cases the child has received a great deal of encouragement in parasitism before he comes to the school. Many mothers are flattered by the child's dependence, and are led by their love of it into practices that prevent the child from developing any sort of independence. They do everything for the child. They issue directions in connection with its every movement. They

encourage it to think and to act in babyish ways. They obviously notice it, laugh at the things it does, and mention them in its presence to their friends. They foster a love of notice in the child. When the child goes to school, and sits in the classroom with a number of other children, all very closely resembling itself, it no longer receives the amount of individual notice to which it has become accustomed. It feels slighted, inferior. There comes into operation the tendency to repeat conduct that has so often proved effective in securing notice. The child acts or speaks in a babyish manner. It performs actions imperfectly and with difficulty. Teachers will agree that most of the "naughty" actions of children are "babyish" in type, or are at least such as would be normal in much younger children. They attract notice—unpleasant notice sometimes; but it is notorious that the people who wish to attract attention would rather be tortured than overlooked. It is as if they were indifferent whether we loved them or hated them; but as if they were very much concerned that we should not be indifferent to them.

The normal end towards which men and women should progress is as complete a measure of independence as it is possible to secure. Complete independence cannot be attained. But in the union of a man and a woman, each of whom is complementary to the other, we have a unit of

society that is as self-contained and complete as it is possible for a single unit of a complex organism to be. It is this end, therefore, to which all school education should lead. It is to the man as a husband and a father, and to the woman as a wife and a mother, that we should look. It is the development of the child into these that is the aim of education.

There are well-marked stages in the development that demand attention.

The earliest stage is that in which the child attaches himself to one of his parents. Before birth he is, of course, completely parasitic. Afterwards he is hardly less so, depending upon the mother for the fulfilment of all his wants.

At a very early age his attitude towards his parents is one that is very definitely sexual, if we use the word in the wide sense that has already been indicated. The instinct of possession comes into play, and shows itself, in the case of a boy, in the desire to monopolise his mother; in the case of a girl, in a similar desire towards her father. There is no doubt that in general there is a sexual preference that decides the choice of the favourite parent. In the case of some children jealousy is shown when the parents caress each other in presence of the child. It is as if the child demanded for himself alone all the caresses that his mother has to give.

Another stage, that has also a definitely sexual

significance, is that in which the child becomes interested in his own body, and makes attempts to explore it. This interest is spoken of as "narcissism," the reference being to the chief figure in the Greek story of Narcissus, who fell in love with himself, and became indifferent to the charms of women, and allowed Echo to die of despair. It is this interest that leads the child to seek to display himself before others, not by virtue of what he can do or of what he knows, but by means of his body. Children often invite visitors to come and see them in their baths, or expose their bodies in ways that are innocent enough in the child, but that are found embarrassing by their parents. Frequently, therefore, the child's interest is sternly checked before his curiosity about himself is gratified, and this checked interest may lead to some difficulty later on. The presence of an ungratified interest of this sort is likely to motivate actions in the future that are only explicable when we realise the nature of the interest that prompts them.

The interest of the child in himself is to be regarded as normal and as possessing definite value for him. His interest in external things is a means of getting to know his environment, and his interest in himself is a means of getting to know himself. In both cases a good deal of effort is required, and the making of the effort is a part of the educational process. Too many

people rush to the child's assistance so soon as they see him making an effort of any kind, with the idea of "helping" him. In reality they baulk him, robbing him at the same time of the educative value of the effort itself, and of the organic gratification which results from the successful operation of a train of activities. Further, they impress the child with a sense of his own inferiority and helplessness, and so assist him to regard himself unconsciously as an infant. At bottom, rationalise it as much as we will, the great desire to help and to save, valuable as it is in our social life, is motivated by the desire to display oneself to advantage before others. By helping the child, we demonstrate our superiority. There is no doubt that this tendency comes into operation in the classroom. There are probably two principal sorts of bad teacher: the teachers who do not know how to give the help that is required, and those who are always helping.

The child must pass through this stage of discovering about himself. He needs no encouragement. He needs very little the help or the notice of adults. But he should have a number of interests—other children, animals, toys, occupations. The danger is that he may become absorbed in himself, learning to wonder about himself, to admire and to worship himself, to "fall in love with himself." Above all, the adult should refrain from applying labels. Examina-

tion of certain parts of the body by the child may annoy the adult, or may be disgusting, but it is quite wrong to tell the child that such examination is "dirty" or "disgusting," since it is nothing of the sort to the child himself. Further, such labelling defeats the end of the adult. It leads the child to questions that have the general meaning, "Why is it disgusting to handle these parts, and not others? In what ways are these parts different from others?" The child learns that he must not speak of these things to adults. The matter then becomes one that is to be thought about vaguely, to be spoken of with intimates only, to be concealed from people in authority and from grown-ups; and the intervening examinations are conducted in private. The adult has destroyed none of the interests that he wished to destroy. He has merely produced a suppression of a part of the child's conduct, so far as he is able to know. The parts of the body in question have assumed, for the child, a greater importance and significance than is warranted. The child has learned exactly what he should not have learned, and has acquired an attitude toward a certain group of facts which is precisely the very attitude he should never have acquired.

It is, too, at a very early age that children begin to ask questions which some adults will find embarrassing. There is now a general body of agreement that the child should not be told

fables about the storks, and about being brought in a bag by the doctor. How far such statements are accepted as true by the child, is an open question. There is a good deal of reason to believe, that even if the conscious mind accepts them the unconscious mind never does so. This is too great a matter for discussion here. Be this as it may the fact remains that at some time or other the child will discover that the people whom it most trusted, and on whom it most relied, betrayed its confidence and lied to it; and the effects of this discovery will be profound. There is no doubt whatsoever that the questions of the child should be answered as truthfully and fully as the occasion demands and the age and intelligence of the child permit. Beyond this there is no need to go. It is a part of the business of the teacher and the parent alike to equip themselves with knowledge which will enable them to answer the child's questions in a suitable manner.

At a later stage than that of the interest in himself, the child passes to interest in a companion of its own sex. Such companionships develop most fully in the course of adolescence, where they attain a degree of intimacy and passionate intensity that is impossible to the generality of men and women at any other period of life. There is a frankness of self-revelation of the one to the other that is extraordinarily complete. Interest in members of the other sex becomes conscious,

too, but these do not at the time possess the attraction that belongs to the comrade.

Beyond this stage lies the full development of the child into the complete man or woman, and the age for this is one at which the child is no longer in the classroom. It is the early stages that are important to the class teacher.

Each stage abounds in possible pitfalls. The teacher can do little more than guide and direct. We reach in this matter, as in many others, a conception of the teacher's function that is not different from that of Montessori. The libido of the child is like a great spring bursting out from the ground, with capacities for harm or for good. The teacher is a director, guiding the flow into valuable channels. More than this can hardly be said. This is not the place to speak of detailed methods. Psychanalytic theory has not yet developed to the point where it can definitely advise the adoption of a cut-and-dried method of dealing with classroom difficulties. It can at present merely place at the teacher's disposal a body of fact that may assist him to a clear view of the phenomena that he encounters in his daily work.

What the end of all life is, we cannot say. It is doubtful whether the human mind can reach out on the one hand to origins, or on the other to final ends. But we can regard as an end of the strivings of the libido the completion of the in-

dividual, and this completion is to be achieved through another individual only. All other completions are partial only, and are so far unsatisfactory, though the race has gained enormously from the endeavours made at adaptation by individuals who were incomplete from this point of view. Since this end is sexual in its nature, the whole of the strivings towards the end have a sexual aspect, which cannot be ignored. Sex colours the whole of life, and the powerful sex instinct draws into its service practically every other instinct with which we are acquainted: the terms "sex" and "instinct" being used in the sense in which they have already been employed in the earlier chapters of this book.

CHAPTER XIII

SOME PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

ANYONE who attempts to urge upon teachers the study of psychanalysis as something worth while is sooner or later asked the direct question, "How would you suggest that teachers should apply analysis in the classroom?" The question usually implies that the discussion of psychanalysis has suggested to the enquirer that teachers should endeavour to apply the methods of the analyst to their pupils.

In the first place, any complete analysis of the child is out of the question, at least so far as the teacher is concerned. It is by no means certain that analysis on any great scale is advisable. Again, analysis is an individual matter, so that a practitioner could devote himself to a few children only per day; each single one taking an hour or so of his time. Further, the technique is not at all easy to acquire or to practise, and it is extremely doubtful if it could be generally acquired or practised, even by people who were willing to devote the necessary time to the matter. So that any

teacher could do little more than dabble with the matter, and the total result would be that more harm than good would be done.

Fortunately, however, the actual practice of psychanalysis lies altogether outside the teacher's province. The medical man, it is true, has very often to fill the function of an educator; but the teacher is never called upon to fulfil the function of a healer.

What then is the value of any study of psychanalysis to a teacher or to a parent, since the actual business of analysis must lie in other hands?

The very few teachers who ask of an educational theory nothing more than that it shall provide them with a few "tips" for use in their classroom practice, or with material that shall be immediately "useful" to them, will at once decide that they have no use at all for it. But such people are not educationists in any sense of the word, and one must not look for vital developments in education from them. At best they are no more than mere journeymen, and more often they are but manipulators of pedagogic tricks. They may impress the casual visitor who sees them give a single lesson, but they are hardly likely to influence deeply or for good the children who work under them.

What psychanalysis promises to the teacher who is willing to take the trouble to understand it thoroughly is a more comprehensive vision of the nature of the children in his care. It promises an

understanding of many baffling phenomena that are of daily occurrence in the life of the classroom, and that were not capable of explanation by means of the introspective psychology. There can be no doubt that such an understanding will result in all cases in some modifications of practice, since no person can acquire a new outlook and remain in his old relation towards the phenomena he now sees differently. And modifications in practice that are the teacher's own, and that have been evolved by him out of his own understanding and insight, are in a different category from those which he makes because they have been invented by other people and seem good to him. Teaching is so personal a matter that all good methods are the result of the relation in which a particular teacher stands to a particular class.

The matter might be illustrated by reference to a case of which I was told by a teacher of the headmistress under whom she had worked. It occurred soon after Mr. Caldwell Cook had written a book, *The Play Way*. Mr. Caldwell Cook's methods are personal, and have been evolved by him as a result of his own understanding of boys. The actual work of the boys is shown in the book, in the form of poems they have written, and in accounts, illustrated with pictures, of "ilonds" they have invented for themselves and which they have made the scenes of adventures. The mistress in question was impressed with the book, and ap-

proved its methods so much that she decided to adopt them. Her way of doing this was to make the girls in her school copy the pictures!

A more amazing travesty of the educational methods of which Mr. Caldwell Cook is a pioneer could hardly be imagined. But anyone else would make a mistake of a similar kind, though probably a less exaggerated one, if he were to adopt another man's methods without understanding the other man's outlook upon his work. This is why, in what has been written in this and the earlier chapters of this book, so much stress has been laid upon the word "understanding." Nobody expects to understand the theory of electrons or the infinitesimal calculus, without a certain amount of preliminary spadework in physics and mathematics. The same thing is true of psychanalysis. It is not to be understood from a single elementary manual or from a course of popular lectures. A certain amount of jargon may be picked up, and the ability to use it glibly may be acquired with very little effort. But all this is the beginning, and not the end of the study. Glibness without accurate knowledge, and jargon that cannot be used intelligently, are not worth much.

Psychanalysis is in itself but one of a number of studies which are often grouped together under the name of *The New Psychology*. The term is not a particularly happy one, since some of the studies are not in themselves so very new, and because it

seems to imply that there is an "Old Psychology," that is supplanted and made unnecessary by the "New"; which is by no means the case. The distinction between the two bodies of psychology is that the newer one concerns itself with those phenomena of conduct—using the word in its very broadest sense—which demand for their explanation the theory that there are levels of the mind which lie below consciousness. The older psychology was content to investigate consciousness by means of introspection, and to extend its findings by experimental methods and by the observation of animal behaviour.

In the service of the "New Psychology," psychanalysis has revealed itself as the instrument by means of which the deeper levels of the mind may be investigated. The method, as we have it, was discovered and perfected by Freud. Medical men, for the purposes of therapeutic treatment, have sometimes modified Freud's procedure; combining it at times with hypnotism or with suggestion. But teachers are not concerned at all with therapeutic methods; but with the light that psychanalysis can throw on the mental development and behaviour of children.

A great deal has been written of late years about suggestion and autosuggestion, and one often hears statements made which imply that the speakers believe that suggestion and psychanalysis are very much the same thing. They are in fact very differ-

ent. Suggestion and autosuggestion are procedures which have as their aim the getting into touch with the levels of the mind that lie below consciousness, and reinforcing or combating the trends that will ultimately lead to conduct on the conscious level. Suggestion does not aim at getting to understand the unconscious, but at making it work in certain ways. Psychanalysis, on the other hand, aims at revealing it as completely as possible, and not with influencing it.

It is often urged that suggestion must play a great part in every analysis. It may at once be admitted that it must play some part; since we can hardly imagine two people remaining in such close contact as is the case with the analyst and the analysed in the course of an analysis, without suggestion operating to some extent. But in pure analysis such suggestion is not consciously exercised, nor is it an integral part of the procedure.

The object, then, of suggestion, is to influence the unconscious levels of the mind, and of psychanalysis to reveal them. In practice, of course, there is not the absolute divorce that we are able to make in discussion and in thought, since it is obviously impossible to influence what we do not understand at all, or to reveal completely without at the same time influencing. But it is important to bear in mind that the aims of the two studies are different, and it is probably as well to study them separately. It is only by keeping before the mind the distinc-

tion that confusion can be avoided. Quite recently a newspaper reported a speaker as saying that to her "psychoanalysis was a form of suggestion, very much like hypnotism," and this is the belief of a great many people.

It has been hinted that in the future suggestion may be used a great deal in conjunction with part of the analytic technique, in order to shorten the time taken up by an analysis. This may prove to be the case in connection with the medical use of psychanalysis, but hardly so in connection with its psychological use. The object of an analysis is to enable the subject to face the truth about himself, to see which impulses in his mind are denied expression in his life, and the reason for this. Obviously, he cannot see this for himself if he is merely told that in the analyst's opinion such and such is the case; nor is he able to see at work something that is being altered or modified by suggestion throughout the course of the procedure. These considerations alone make it unlikely that suggestion can ever be employed with analysis as a *mode of investigation* of the unconscious levels of the mind.

If therefore, the teacher may not use psychanalysis for the purpose of dealing directly with children, he may yet use its results and findings directly. It may be that his methods are such as ignore the real interests of the children altogether. If this should be so he will find enough

evidence of the fact in the phenomena of the daily life of his class. It may be that there are not provided a sufficient variety of outlets for the impulses of the children, so that pupils are compelled to repress through fear or lack of opportunity many of their instinctive tendencies. This is a state of things that the teacher who is able to recognise it can do a great deal to remedy.

It is extremely important that the person who is anxious to know the whole truth about another's personality should not shirk the truth about his own; and the teacher must be prepared to face the possibility that when relations between himself and his pupils are not altogether happy some of the blame should justly fall on himself. He must be willing to look well into his own motives. It is very possible that the teacher, conscious of a "great mission," and conscious too of the annoyance caused by a small boy who is "showing off" at a critical moment in the lesson, is really only suffering from the same lack of mental adjustment as is the boy. Neither has succeeded in relating his ego to the outer world and to the society in which he lives.

It is extremely important also, that the endeavour to understand psychanalysis should be made without prejudice. Many people are willing to consider the evidence, and to follow developments of the argument up to the conclusion . . . but to reject this latter, if it should prove to be unflat-

tering. It should be perfectly clear, in view of the trouble that we and others take to deceive ourselves about ourselves, that any claim to show the truth would be violently opposed. The hostility shown towards Freud and towards psychanalysis is in itself suggestive that the theory is true, since it is unlikely that anything short of the truth should have met with opposition of this particular sort. And the success of the charlatan is also hereby explained, since he is the man who assures us that the truth is not as it is, but as we would wish it to be.

There are people who object to the view that human conduct is based on a number of impulses . . . the "instincts." But supposing that the statement should be true? There are others who accuse Freud and his followers of having grossly insulted human nature. Students of Freud will understand what is meant by the statement, and will realise that Freud has not made any assertion for the cheap gratification of offering an insult, but has offered a great body of evidence and has reached his conclusions as a result of careful consideration of this evidence. He has pursued the same methods as has Darwin and every other man of science since the inductive method was devised, and it is perhaps more than a coincidence that the reception of his theory presents extraordinary close parallels with that accorded to Darwin's theory of the evolution of species by means of natural selec-

tion. Even the personalities that have been flung broadcast in the course of controversy sound like an echo of the dispute between Wilberforce and Huxley. Even if Freud be wrong, and his evidence has yet to be impugned and his conclusions to be soundly refuted, credit must be given to him for extraordinary frankness and courage.

The teacher who studies psychanalysis will discover that the origin of many teaching difficulties lies deeper than the older psychology led him to expect. Children forget things, and teachers know well enough that they show a significant choice of what to remember and what to forget. They imitate the teacher, but they are far more likely to imitate his peculiar mannerisms than to imitate that part of his activities which he would himself suggest for imitation. And children's interests, again, are not to be explained entirely as the older conceptions of interest would explain them to us.

There can be no doubt that at the moment psychology is receiving more consideration from a greater variety of men than ever before. Manufacturers, medical men, clergymen, public speakers and missionaries are paying attention to the subject, are buying books and attending lectures, and are inviting the coöperation of practical psychologists. Much of this interest has no doubt arisen on account of the way in which the war drew attention to the mental factors, rather than to the

solely physical factors of men's make-up. War experiences illustrated, on a scale so large as to be striking for great numbers of people, the conclusions at which pre-war psychologists had arrived.

The war permitted the testing of certain theories, which had never been employed on any large scale before, on large numbers of men, and under conditions which rarely occur. Intensive training, directed by psychologists, was used in order to prepare men for difficult tasks in a minimum of time. Factory production of munitions was accelerated by the use of psychological methods. In the United States of America mental tests were employed to facilitate the selection of non-commissioned and commissioned officers. In connection with the "war neuroses"—so-called "shell-shock," "nervous breakdown," and "malingering"—which were not really different from the neuroses which occur in daily life, and which impressed the public only on account of their great frequency and intensity, psychological methods of treatment achieved a success greater than that of other methods. All these things led men to believe, probably for the first time, that psychology was a body of knowledge that might be applied with advantage in all cases where men had to be dealt with.

The application of these methods is still new. Applied psychology is still an infant science. But it has already accomplished enough to make men

believe that it is practical, in the most worldly sense of the word. And it is of importance for teachers to realise that in whatever way it is employed, and by whomsoever it is used . . . its end is most often, if not invariably, educational.

Mental testing depends for its validity upon the assumption that there is a native ability that can be measured, and that can be compared with average standards, so that we are able at once to decide which individuals may with advantage be trained together. Here at once we see a means of deciding a matter which the teacher has so often to decide, and of doing so without that bias which must always accompany, in less or greater measure, any individual opinion that is not based upon quantitative experimentation. The perfect mental test—it is still a matter of opinion as to whether we have such at present, and the discussion of the existing tests is evidently outside the scope of this book—would enable us to discover and estimate ability in a very short time.

This estimate is, of course, an objective one. The educator's task has not begun when he has merely learned to estimate the powers of the children in his charge. He has still to know how to use this ability, how to realise what is merely potential. It is extraordinarily rare, for example, to meet the man who has learned to estimate himself justly, and to conceive justly the relation between the

factors of his environment and himself. As a rule he is fettered by misconceptions of the one or the other or both, which were formed and fixed because of some episode in his life which he was not at the time able to understand, and which he is now unable to revise because the memory of the incident has become "repressed."[1] Any complete psychanalysis, in this sense, involves a re-education, since the *repressed* matter is gradually brought into consciousness, and there undergoes revision as it is subjected to a judgment that is more mature than that which was operative at the time of the repression.

Psychanalytic investigation has as yet hardly been directed to the study of the behaviour of men in crowds and in social groups. The older writers on crowd psychology discussed little more than what might be termed the anatomy of crowds, and their work was in the main purely descriptive. McDougall has lately written of the organised group from the point of view of the system of social psychology with which his name is associated. But there are many points in anthropology and in crowd behaviour that go to suggest that before long the findings of psychanalytic researches will be applied in these fields. These applications again will be of value to the teacher, whose work in classroom is now with the crowd, now with the organised group, and now with the individual.

[1] Or "suppressed," in Rivers' terminology.

It is perhaps necessary to add a remark in reference to a word that has been used rather often in the preceding pages, and that enters into every discussion of psychanalysis . . . the word "normal." The word normal does *not* mean average. In a watchmaker's shop, where many of the clocks and watches are not going, where some are awaiting repairs, where some are fast and some are slow, the normal watch is not the watch which indicates the time that is an average of the times shown by all the clocks and watches in the establishment. The normal watch is the watch that works or can work as the parts and construction of a watch indicate that it was meant to work. The same holds true in other fields. Normal eyesight is the degree of vision that a perfectly functioning human eye would possess, and so is very rare. It is impossible, therefore, to set down an absolute standard of what is a normal human being, but we may say that it is a human being who is functioning in all respects as the structure of a human being would lead us to expect that he should function. Any departure from such perfect functioning is therefore to be regarded as an "abnormality." It need hardly be said that the psychanalyst does not regard normality as frequent or usual. It is important to realise this point, since one of the objections frequently brought against psychanalysis is that it concerns itself exclusively with abnormality; the meaning of this statement being that it is

merely the study of the insane, and that its conclusions have no bearing whatsoever upon the sane. Such misunderstanding is a result of the ambiguity of the word "abnormal."

Psychanalysis is frequently said to have revolutionised psychology. It has certainly forced upon us the realisation that the older psychology, sound as it was within its own limits, was yet inadequate as a science of the mind or an explanation of conduct. It has forced upon it the recognition of regions of the mind lying outside consciousness, in which the impulses have birth. It has led us to realise that every situation that arises in the life of the individual has to be faced and dealt with, since repression is no final and abiding solution. It has shown us that the things in human conduct that we have regarded as inexplicable are not really so, but that they are consequents whose antecedents are ascertainable. It is opening the way gradually to newer views of every department of life that is in any way an expression of human desire and aspiration. It is opening the way to wider understandings of life and its aims. These things are the concern of all men, but particularly of those whose peculiar business it is to guide the human impulses into channels of personal and social value in the formative years, when the egoistic and the social impulses are being organised, largely through the agency of the life of the classroom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. General

1. *Social Psychology*, by W. McDougall, F.R.S. Not a psychanalytical book, but a necessary preliminary to psychanalytic reading, inasmuch as it gives the outlines of a system of psychology based on the recognition of the instincts of man. An attempt is made to classify the instincts, and to point out the nature of the processes by which these become organised into systems. The great value of the book is that it makes available for discussion a great deal of material that has hitherto been left out of account, and that it attempts to define strictly terms that are loosely used by many writers on psychology.

2. *The Freudian Wish*, by E. B. Holt. (T. Fisher Unwin.) The reading of this book should be postponed until the student is acquainted with the psychanalytic theory. It represents an attempt to consider the conceptions of psychanalysis in their relation to current psychology. The author regards the psychanalytic findings as in harmony with the modern "behaviourist" psychology, and considers that in the views of McDougall we have the necessary link between the two.

B. General Psychanalytic Literature

1. *Psychanalysis: Its History, Theory and Practice*, by André Tridon. (Kegan Paul.) A lucid and concise summing up, in a single volume of about 250 pages, of the views of the leading psychanalysts. Probably the best single volume available for the reader who is not acquainted with the technical side of the subject.

2. *Psychoanalysis*, by Barbara Low. (George Allen & Unwin.) A clear and simple account of the Freudian theory. The final chapters discuss the bearing of the theory upon current social and educational problems. This book is probably the best simple outline of the views of the Freudian school.

3. *Psychoanalysis*, by M. Bradby. (Oxford Medical Publications.) A discussion of the bearing of psychanalysis upon a number of departments of life. The relations of psychanalysis to art and literature receives a great deal of attention.

4. *The Psychology of Insanity*, by Bernard Hart. (Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature.) This book deals very broadly with the subject of insanity, showing how the study of the psychology of the insane throws light upon normal processes. In particular the psychology of conflict is very lucidly treated.

5. *Man's Unconscious Conflict*, by Wilfrid Lay. (Kegan Paul.) A simple account, popularly written, of the psychanalytic theory.

6. *Psychoanalysis*, by Ernest Jones. (Ballière, Tindall & Cox.) This is the standard exposition of the Freudian view in the English language. It is a

large work, lucidly and clearly written, but is not an easy book for a beginner not equipped with a good deal of medical or psychological knowledge. It is, however, a book that must be read and mastered by any one who wishes to acquaint himself completely with the subject.

7. *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology*, by Jung; English translation by Constance Long. (Ballière, Tindall & Cox.) An exposition of the views of the "Zurich school."

8. *The Psychology of Fantasy*, by Constance Long. (Ballière, Tindall & Cox.) A volume of essays by one of the leading British exponents of the views of the "Zurich school." The bulk of the matter is concerned with the mental processes of children, and the question of the application of psychanalytic theory to education receives a great deal of attention. The book is written in non-technical language, and teachers should find it of considerable value.

9. *The Problem of the Nervous Child*, by Elida Evans. (Kegan Paul.) The book is written by a woman who has had considerable experience in the analysis of adults and of children. A number of cases are narrated in some detail, and are used to illustrate the results of faulty home education.

10. *The Interpretation of Dreams*, by Professor Sigmund Freud. (George Allen & Unwin.) This is the book in which Freud develops his view of the unconscious. It is the first book that the student who intends to study Freud should read, since it is not only the basis of later works, but in it is explained the terminology that is employed throughout Freud's

work. It is by no means an easy book, and requires careful study. With it should be read the summaries of its argument to be found in Jones' *Psychoanalysis* (vide supra).

11. *Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious*, by Sigmund Freud. (T. Fisher Unwin.) In this book Freud discusses the manner in which the theories he has developed from the study of dreams explain the nature and forms of wit. The book is an interesting study of repression and its outlets. It is not difficult to read, though the terminology is only intelligible to those who have read *The Interpretation of Dreams* (vide supra).

12. *Thè Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, by Sigmund Freud. (T. Fisher Unwin.) A discussion of the way in which slips of the tongue and the pen, unaccountable forgettings, etc., reveal the action of the unconscious mind. The book is easy to read, but a knowledge of Freud's terminology is necessary if it is to be understood.

13. *Dream Psychology*, by Maurice Nicoll. (Oxford Medical Publications.) An account of the views of the "Zurich school" regarding the dream. There are excellent chapters dealing with the subjects of extraversion and introversion, and with compensation.

14. *The Treatment of the Neuroses*, by Ernest Jones. (Ballière, Tindall & Cox.) Valuable for the student who is reading psychanalysis and who wishes to understand the way in which the theories of Freud have led to a consideration of a large group of diseases as the expression of mental conflict. The conception that a pathological symptom may be purposive and

may express a mental conflict is of the greatest importance to an educator, who has so often to endeavour to understand, and to deal effectively with, behaviour that is not normal; that is in reality pathological, even though it happens to fall within the province of the teacher rather than that of the physician. It is therefore of value for the teacher who is endeavouring to acquire the psychanalytic habit of mind to read such a book as this, even though its subject may seem remote from his actual daily experience.

15. *What is Psychoanalysis?* by I. Coriat. (Kegan Paul.) A simple exposition of the difficulties a beginner is likely to meet with in the study of psychanalysis.

C. Psychanalysis and Education

1. *The Psychoanalytic Method*, by Oskar Pfister. (Kegan Paul.) The writer is a clergyman and teacher, who has applied the Freudian method in his daily practice in both capacities. In a few details he differs from Freud. He is much less concerned with theory than with practice and in the book gives details of a number of the cases where he has been able to help parishioners and pupils. His experience has led him to develop important views as to sex teaching, which he states at length.

2. *The Child's Unconscious Mind*, by Wilfrid Lay. (Kegan Paul.) The writer discusses the process of the child's unconscious mind, and the light thrown upon the nature of education as a result of the newer knowledge.

The above books are concerned with the application of the psychanalytic theory to education. There are, at the same time, a number of books that it is difficult to classify. They are not written definitely from the psychanalytic point of view, but were nevertheless written at a time when psychanalysis was "in the air." They are affected by current discussions, and the teacher will find in them a great deal of material that is relevant to the subject of this book. A list of some of these is given below:—

3. *Human Motives*, by J. J. Putnam. (Heinemann.) A series of chapters in which the author discusses instincts and ideals, and their relation to religious belief and to education. He deals with the psychanalytic movement and its bearings on education.

4. *Psychology and Parenthood*, by H. Addington Bruce. (Heinemann.) Deals with the influences in later life of unfavourable environment and maladjustment in childhood. Whilst the standpoint is not psychanalytic there is a great deal of material that can be considered from the psychanalytic side.

5. *The Mental Hygiene of Childhood*, by William A. White. (Heinemann.) The writer employs the psychanalytic findings for the purpose of criticising the environment and the education provided for children. There are a number of constructive suggestions.

6. *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, by W. Healy. (Kegan Paul.) The writer deals with the cases of a number of delinquent children who have come under his supervision and care. He gives a great deal of detail concerning these cases.

7. *Children's Dreams*, by C. W. Kimmins. (Longmans, Green & Co.) The writer has collected a large number of dreams (over four thousand) from children attending elementary and secondary schools. These are classified according to type and according to the age of the dreamer.

8. *Abnormal Psychology and Education*, by Frank Watts. (George Allen & Unwin.) A study of the contributions made by the study of normal psychology to educational theory. A suggestive and valuable work.

9. *Mental Tests*, by Philip Boswood Ballard. (Hodder & Stoughton.) This book is, strictly speaking, not concerned with psychanalysis at all, but deals with matter that will in the near future be reviewed by psychologists with some knowledge of analysis. It now appears certain that mental tests are capable of gauging with correctness the intelligence of pupils, and of indicating cases of "deficiency." The deficiency is itself merely an indication that inquiries must be made as to its cause and nature; whether it be organic or functional. If the former, then it would appear that analysis can effect nothing. In any case, the whole subject of mental tests, their value and limitations, is one with which the teacher should make himself acquainted, and this book is an excellent introduction.

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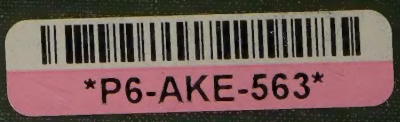
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